Daily Report

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FBIS-SOV-91-238 *11 December 1991*

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Arms Control & Disarmament

Observer Views Control of Nuclear Weapons

LD0912232191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1910 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Commentary by military observer Colonel Vadim Solovyev]

[Text] The agreement the leaders of Russia, Belarus, and the Ukraine have signed to form a community of independent states has again called attention to who is going to possess the nuclear weapons of the former Soviet Union. Here is an opinion from our military observer, Colonel Vadim Solovyev:

Nuclear weapons are deployed in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. Until now the leaders of these four republics have repeatedly said nuclear weapons must remain in the hands of the center, but the decisions that were adopted in Minsk raise some questions. Significantly, the leaders of former Union republics agree that the sovereign states that have come into being on the territory of the former Soviet Union must by no means undermine international agreements on limiting weapons, the destructive nuclear weapons in the first place. This is in the interests of republics themselves. Besides, this can help establish good relations with neighboring countries and clear the way for entry into the international community. Mind you, as soon as Ukraine proclaimed itself independent it stated full loyalty to the three non-nuclear principles not to have, not to import, and not to produce any nuclear weapons. Other republics are not pressing for the nuclear button, either.

On the other hand, in military and technical terms the common system of strategic nuclear weapons cannot be divided. If it is to continue functioning, it must be controlled by the center. No republic except for Russia, perhaps, can afford to maintain nuclear missiles, train personnel, let alone developing, testing or producing this kind of highly technological weapon.

A future for strategic nuclear weapons, among other questions, is discussed today by the State Council. The national president, Mikhail Gorbachev, and the presidents of the republics possessing nuclear weapons expect to adopt a final decision. On the meeting's eve, the Kazakh president, Nursultan Nazarbayev, said again that nuclear weapons had to remain under central control. It is certain all international commitments to reduce and get rid of nuclear weapons will be abided by, so will the unilateral strategic weapons initiative that President Gorbachev put forward last October.

Progress in 'Open Skies' Talks Welcomed

PM1012140591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Dec 91 First Edition p 2

[Article by Colonel V. Dmitriyev: "Openness and Trust: Registration in the Skies"]

[Text] The trend toward the normalization of the international situation which we have been observing increasingly clearly in recent years has made it possible to take a new look at the problem of openness and trust in the activity of the armed forces. In February 1990 the NATO countries and the states which used to belong to the Warsaw Pact Organization (22 states in all) entered into multilateral talks on an "open skies" regime. Their aim is to elaborate an agreement which would make it possible on a reciprocal and equal basis to carry out flights by noncombat unarmed aircraft over the territories of the states acceding to the agreement for observing military activity. There is no doubt that the implementation of such an agreement would promote the further consolidation of trust and would largely remove the concern which sometimes arises in connection with the activity of the armed forces of the states which have signed this agreement.

Specialists note that the other merits of the "open skies" agreement include the opportunity to use observation flights to monitor the observance of accords in the field of disarmament and arms limitation. Observation from the air is sufficiently effective and, which is of some importance, is cheaper than from space. In addition the process of monitoring could be joined by the small European states.

Two stages of the "open skies" talks have already been held. And the third stage has been under way in Vienna since 4 November. The experts of the countries taking part in this forum have reached practical agreement on the parameters of the future regime. Before that the principles for forming and using pools of observation aircraft, the staff of the observation apparatus, the quota (number) of observation flights, and questions of the processing and use of observation data had been elaborated at the talks.

The attainment of progress at the "open skies" talks largely became possible thanks to the mutual desire of the USSR, the United States, and other states taking part in the talks to find mutually acceptable solutions to vexed issues. But it cannot be said that they have all been resolved already. For instance, a definitive solution still has to be found to the problem of so-called territorial envelopment. In this connection it should be noted that the Soviet side's statement of its agreement to open the USSR's territory to observation flights and of the possibility of seeking on a bilateral basis a mutually acceptable solution regarding the supply to us of information about U.S. military activity on the territory of third countries which are not participants in the regime switched the talks to a practical channel. Their progress and the businesslike and constructive atmosphere which took shape at them make it possible to hope that this question will also be fully resolved.

Many observers following the talks note that they have reached the finishing straight. The sides have already put on the table the renewed texts of articles of the draft

agreement. There is a hope that the final legal formulation of the "open skies" accord could be completed by the start of the Helsinki meeting of leaders of the CSCE states which should take place in March 1992.

Woerner Interviewed on New NATO Strategy

PM1012163391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 91 p 4

[Interview in Brussels with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner by correspondent V. Peresada; date not given: "M. Woerner: 'We Are Entering the Era of Partnership'"]

[Text] [Peresada] Mr. Secretary General, the meeting of NATO heads of state and government in Rome recently adopted a series of decisions aimed at adapting the alliance to the changed situation in Europe. Undoubtedly they are all important. But which of them in your view are the most important?

[Woerner] I can say with the utmost certainty that there are three. First, the decision to establish relations of partnership in ensuring security with the states of central and Eastern Europe, including your country, of course. And to raise our relations to a new, institutionalized level of consultations and cooperation. Second, the decision on European individuality in the sphere of security and defense. This will find expression in the strengthening of the European pillar of our alliance, which will mean the creation of more balanced relations between the North American and European partners in NATO. And third, the adoption of an entirely new strategy envisaging the lowering of levels of military might and the reduction of the various armed forces.

[Peresada] So an unprecedented direction is appearing in NATO's activity—that of cooperation with the former "iron curtain" adversaries. It is planned to set up a North Atlantic Cooperation Council with their participation in Brussels 20 December. What will this institution be like? How will it operate?

[Woerner] The answer to that question exceeds the bounds of my personal responsibility. Because our concept is based on partnership, the 16 NATO members must determine the organization of this form of cooperation in agreement with the remaining nine nations. We have no intention of imposing any of our ideas on them. All 25 states must decide what the actual content, structures, and procedures of the council's activity will be. The results of the Brussels meeting will provide the answer to your question.

Of course, we have declared the principles. We have said that we want to consult regularly with those countries on questions of security and to expand spheres of cooperation with them. We also outlined a number of specific areas, for example, military planning, arms control, the settlement of crises, and so forth. But as for the details of cooperation in these spheres, I repeat that the decisions must be made jointly by all the participants in the council.

Undoubtedly this process will constantly develop. At the moment we are at the very beginning of it. So at some stage we will see how it is working and we, again all 25 participants, will determine future intentions.

[Peresada] I view the proposal to set up an institution such as the Cooperation Council as a sensible desire on NATO's part not to divide the "former East" into more acceptable or less acceptable partners. At the same time, as you know, the alliance's leadership does not rule out the possibility that in the long term a number of East European countries may become NATO members. Why would that happen and in what circumstances?

[Woerner] Here, too, I cannot give a definitive answer. We are not talking about NATO membership for your country or any other state. The expansion of NATO is not an issue. We have embarked on a process of partnership but this is an "open-ended" process. I do not even know whether a time will come when we will discuss the question of new NATO members. At any rate that time has not come yet. We are ruling nothing out here, nor are we proposing anything in this connection. What we are proposing is consultation and cooperation.

Our task is to build a new, integrated, and free Europe involving the Soviet Union or its successor or successors. Of course, the outcome of this process will largely depend on the internal situation in the reorganized Soviet Union. We have no intention of interfering in its development, although we hope that your country will stick to the path of democracy and reforms. This will also be of decisive significance for our side's reaction.

But let me state absolutely clearly that our intention is not to exclude the Soviet Union but to include the Soviet Union or its successor in the Euroatlantic security framework that is being formed. We have no plans to divide Europe by drawing new lines across it. We believe that your country should be part of this "venture." Only such an approach provides an opportunity to create a completely new security architecture for the whole of Europe.

[Peresada] In addition to supporting the democratic changes in our country, the NATO Council session in Rome also expressed profound concern at certain aspects of the development of the situation. Judging by the statement that was adopted there is particular anxiety at the prospect of the loss of centralized control over nuclear weapons. In NATO's view, what form of single command of them is most effective? Control at Union level? Or perhaps at the level of Russia, which is ready to concentrate all these weapons on its territory and be responsible for them?

[Woerner] First of all I want to touch on a fundamental question which I have already mentioned. Our policy is not to interfere in internal development in your country. We have set out a number of principles which, in our

opinion, should be observed: the implementation of changes by peaceful, democratic means on the basis of consensus and respect for the right to self-determination. But it is up to the center and the republics in the former Soviet Union to decide how they want to organize their relations. Not to NATO. And I am not going to advise officials in the Soviet Union that such and such should be done by the center, Russia, or something else.

What is most important for us is that you retain single command of nuclear forces. We are categorically against the proliferation of nuclear weapons and do not want to deal with four, six, or some other number of republics or states possessing such weapons. We want to deal with a single center exercising command of nuclear weapons. But it is up to you to decide in whose hands they are going to be, how command is to be exercised, and how to organize this center.

[Peresada] Today there is effectively no formation such as the USSR, with which the West is accustomed to dealing. In that connection, how does NATO see the common security area? Do you intend to cooperate only with the new Union which may be formed or with the former republics too—both those which are ready to remain in the Union and those which do not want to be part of it?

[Woerner] That is the question that is being discussed within NATO right now. The final answer to it will depend to a considerable extent on how you yourselves approach its solution. As an alliance of sovereign states, we will respect the outcome of internal development in the Soviet Union. This development, I repeat, must be carried out, first, by peaceful means and, second, by democratic means, with observance of the right to self-determination.

Therefore the question of whom we have to deal with will become clear when the process now under way in your country is completed. We will accept its results if they are reached via the path that I have already mentioned. It is difficult now to speak with absolute certainty also because we do not know how events are going to develop. A decision can be made only when we see that there are new independent republics, or a new center, or a new Union.

As for the area that you mentioned, in the new security framework we are unambiguously talking about a Euroatlantic community. From Vancouver to Vladivostok. That is, even before the end of the process of restructuring in your country we are seeking the creation of an extensive area which would include the successor or successors to the Soviet Union.

[Peresada] The military section of the new strategy envisages not only reducing the strength of NATO's troops but also increasing their mobility. In particular, creating rapid response forces. Their purpose is quite broadly defined—transfer to regions of possible crises. This gives rise to certain apprehensions, not only on our part. So let me to ask you a blunt question: In view of Article 19 of the Rome declaration about "broad risks," can it be presumed that these forces will be used even outside the alliance's zone of responsibility?

[Woerner] No.

[Peresada] Among the main decisions made in Rome you cited the principle of "individuality," in other words, a certain West European autonomy in defense matters. How is this compatible with the existence of NATO?

[Woerner] Yes, there will be a new individuality separate from NATO in the sphere of security and defense which is connected with the creation of a political union in Europe. We have clearly formulated the principles of our relations with it. They are relations not of competition and rivalry but of complementarity. They need organizational ties which operate on the basis of transparency and do not reduce the significance of any of the European NATO member states.

But we have also stated that NATO will retain priority as an organization intended for the defense of our member countries. So European individuality in the sphere of security and defense is beginning to play a complementary role but will not supplant NATO, still less replace it.

[Peresada] In our press I have seen alarming comments to do with the fact that Western Europe is acquiring a "defense identity" of its own and that the foundations of a "European army" are in fact already being laid. The reason for the concern is this: At a time when the Warsaw Pact has been disbanded, in other words, when there are no blocs at all in the East, another military structure is appearing the West in addition to NATO. What can you tell us about this?

[Woerner] European individuality in the security and defense sphere is a logical consequence of the fact that the EC is developing and being transformed into a political alliance. And it is impossible to imagine any political alliance without its own line in security and defense matters. In particular, this could mean occasions when NATO is incapable of acting, for example, outside the zone of its responsibility.

But this has nothing to do with any orientation against the Soviet Union and its successors. Absolutely nothing. In our new strategy there is no longer a prevailing concept such as the "Soviet threat." There is only a scenario of multifaceted risks. We are reducing our armed forces by approximately one-half and tactical nuclear systems by 80 percent. You only have to look at the new plan for the structure of these forces and their scale to realize that we do not see the Soviet Union as an enemy.

Of course, you still have powerful armed forces and many thousands of nuclear weapons, and we must ensure a definite geopolitical balance. Not in a spirit of hostility and confrontation but in a spirit of potential partnership. And we have very serious intentions in that regard.

Thus to say that now, when the Warsaw Pact has been disbanded, we are replacing one alliance in the West with two alliances aimed against you,is simply ridiculous. I repeat, we have absolutely nothing to do with that.

[Peresada] Mr. Secretary General, let us look to the near future. How would you like to see or can you picture the architecture of European security by the year 2000, for example?

[Woerner] As a Euroatlantic community from Vancouver to Vladivostok based on three most important foundations—the CSCE, the EC, and the Western European Union—and also our alliance as the main bulwark of stability. This will be a system of interconnected, that is, cooperating institutions. Together they will form the skeleton of the new security framework. The concrete details of its architecture must be elaborated jointly by everyone living in this area.

Worldwide Issues

Shevardnadze Receives UNESCO Director

LD1112000991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1848 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 10 Dec (TASS)—A meeting took place today at the USSR Ministry of External Relations between Eduard Shevardnadze and Federico Mayor, director general of UNESCO, who is in Moscow.

During the conversation an interested exchange of opinions took place on the problems facing this international organization, and on the directions for cooperation between the USSR and UNESCO. On the Soviet side support was confirmed for the organization's fruitful activity in the spheres of its competence.

For his part Federico Mayor expressed readiness to promote closer cooperation between UNESCO and the Soviet Union.

USSR First Deputy Minister of External Relations Vladimir Petrovskiy took part in the conversation.

United States & Canada

Bilateral Talks With U.S. Termed 'Useful'

LD1012182591 Moscow TASS in English 1754 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic corespondent Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow December 10 TASS—"Soviet-American consultations on bilateral problems have been very useful. Their chief achievement consisted in contributing to the removal of possible snags and hitches from the road of cooperation between the two countries," Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksiy Obukhov, who led the Soviet delegation to the consultations, told TASS upon the completion of the two-day consultations in Moscow.

According to Obukhov, the sides compared notes, exchanged views on a number of specific problems and discussed ways of solving them.

He said this applied above all to living and working conditions of diplomats and consular office workers in the USSR and the United States, and consular ties between the United States and former Union republics.

Although the exchange of views did not result in reaching any specific agreements, ways of tackling these problems have been clarified, Obukhov said.

The Soviet diplomat stressed that a considerable headway had been made on the issue of "closed zones". Both sides, Obukhov said, favoured lifting the existing restrictions and agreed that experts would do legal preparatory work on details of this understanding. Obukhov said the solution of this problem would be gradual but with fairly short phases.

Of special interest was the participation in consultations of representatives of sovereign republics, Obukhov stressed. Kazakhstan and the United States expressed intention to open their consular offices in Alma-Ata and one of the American cities respectively. According to the deputy foreign minister, talks with the participation of representatives of sovereign republics increased opportunities for taking their specific interests into account.

Joseph Hewlings, who represented the U.S. Embassy at the consultations, called their results productive. He told TASS exchange of information with Soviet republics should be continued with a view to developing a partnership dialogue with them.

Prospects for U.S. Aid Examined

PM1012170191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Dec 91 Union Edition p 6

[A. Anichkin article: "Russian Opportunity for the United States. What Aid Can We Expect From America"]

[Text] George Bush was one of the heroes of the victory of democracy in Russia in August. Now he could become one of the central figures in the transformation of the former Soviet Union. The U.S. President's support for Yeltsin and Gorbachev played a far from insignificant role in the failure of the putsch, and now this support could be one of decisive factors in ensuring that Russia and the other republics of the former Union join the civilized world community without too much pain.

The signals coming out of Washington seem to indicate that the administration, Congress, and U.S. public opinion are becoming slowly and painfully aware—but nonetheless this awareness is getting stronger—of how

necessary it is for America to take this role upon itself: Necessary for us, for them, and for the whole world.

Why is the President Keeping Silent?

Bush himself is keeping quiet for the time being, ostensibly preferring not to give any unnecessary grounds for criticism a year before the country's next presidential election. More than one-half of his future voters now believe that the President is getting too carried away by foreign policy to the detriment of domestic economic problems. The Democrats felt that they had finally discovered the weak spot of a President who seemed completely invulnerable until recently.

Basically taking their cue from the Democrats, Americans have contracted their version of the "Russian disease"—like us, they have focused all their attention on economic questions and are hostile to any proposed aid to foreign states, including the USSR. The logic is as follows: The cold war is over, the Soviet Union is no longer a threat to the United States, and is it not about time the President finally got down to domestic affairs, because the victor in the cold war was neither the United States nor the USSR but Japan, as one U.S. commentator noted half in jest and half in earnest. And as in our country, those who oppose giving aid to other countries believe that it would be fairer to spend the money earmarked for this purpose on helping the needy at home.

Obviously, the explanation for Bush's "passivity" on the issue of giving aid to the disintegrating Soviet Union lies mainly in this situation. But how much longer can he afford to carry on like this? Yes, the Soviet Union no longer poses a military threat to the United States, but the prospect of disintegration and civil war in the largest nuclear power, and its transformation into a "nuclear Yugoslavia," does pose a threat. The President was able to propose a limited program of "winter" food aid and helped defer the payment of Soviet debts. But many people believe that this is quite inadequate against the background of the magnificent opportunities opened up for the West by the transition of "one-sixth of the earth's surface" to the market economy.

It seems that the arguments of those who support more active involvement by the United States in the processes going on in Russia will start to be voiced more strongly in the near future. And President Bush is probably right to keep quiet for the time being, thus giving them an opportunity to "mature fully."

Steeling Himself Before Jumping.

Two significant episodes in U.S. political life last week could be the prelude to future events. First, the debate in Congress on appropriating some Pentagon money for aid to the USSR; and second, the move toward recognizing the independence of Ukraine—an event which, it seems, finally buries all hopes of preserving the Union in some form similar to that it has retained until now. In the first instance, the parliamentary debate made it possible to find the best way of providing aid. It even received the full support of its main opponents and simultaneously gave the administration a prescription for future use. The second episode showed that Washington is shifting the focus of its attention to the republic leaderships, although in official statements it is still not withdrawing its support from a center that has lost both its authority and its money.

Both examples indicate a new turn in U.S. policy in relation to the entity that is emerging in place of the USSR. At any rate, they indicate Washington's ability to make this change of direction and prepare for it.

It may be that we are now witnessing something similar to what happened at the start of Bush's presidency, when for several months it seemed to many that he was "marking time," hesitating to define his attitude to the USSR and exposing himself to growing criticism on this score at home. Professor Fred Greenstein, a U.S. expert on problems of presidential power at Princeton University, recently told me that the 67-year-old Bush has kept his youthful idealism and impulsiveness coupled with extreme caution and great experience of matters of state. He prepares his decisions painstakingly and at length, and then throws himself into implementing them decisively and energetically. It looks as if now, just as before the Malta meeting, another such moment has arrived—he is steeling himself before jumping.

If this is so, the effect could be remarkable because it coincides with the start of Yeltsin's reforms in Russia (if these really do begin). If the United States' new change of direction in relation to Russia does not occur and the Americans go off into isolationism again (this is one of the long-established traditions in U.S. politics, despite the widespread idea that America is a country wedded in global interference), there will be nothing left to do except regret the missed opportunity and prepare for the difficult wait for a new one. The wait may be in vain.

Aid Is Often Dangerous.

It is still not clear whether this change of direction will come about, when it will be (will it be a Christmas present, or will Bush speak about it in his State of the Union message in January?), and what form it will take. But in the meantime it is possible to try to outline the new features that have already become obvious in the United States' attitude to giving aid to the former USSR.

It is clear that following the Ukrainian referendum and the failure of attempts to sign the Union treaty, Washington will be counting on making direct contacts with the republics. This is possibly the main change. The center must get used to this, and the republics should get ready.

The economic aid programs will no longer be an "open check" with funds being spent as the recipient sees fit. They will be offered for specific programs, and therefore priority will be given to projects associated with disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament. The danger of

proliferation of "small" Soviet nuclear weapons is what worries the United States most of all. The Europeans' and Americans' inability to stop the civil war in Yugoslavia has had a major impact on the West's awareness of the dangers associated with a similar development of events in the USSR.

There will be fewer credits, and maybe none at all, at any rate until the solvency of each of the Union's fragments has become entirely clear. But in any case, Russia will remain the principal partner at talks and the principal recipient of aid. The principal partner since it alone has declared its readiness to take on the payment of all Union debts if necessary. It is very important that the Russian leadership sticks consistently to this confidence-inspiring position, especially following the "semibankruptcy" of the Union Vneshekonombank [Bank for Foreign Economic Activity]. And Russia will also be the principal partner because for the time being it remains the largest state formation replacing the USSR, having inherited almost all of its nuclear arsenal and also the potential to become the "locomotive" of an economic community that exists in reality and not just on paper.

At the moment "winter" humanitarian aid is already being interpreted in emergency terms and is not regarded as very useful. It will continue, but on a reduced scale. Many experts oppose food aid, believing that it is not only degrading but that it also impedes the transition to the market and acts as an extra prop for the bankrupt kolkhoz system. (We import exactly the same amount of foreign food as we lose in our own fields and spoil in our own storage facilities).

Besides, a number of influential specialists believe that so-called technical aid is also harmful. It is usually provided via government channels or international organizations run by bureaucratic-state administrators who believe that the state should play a commanding role in the economy, although world experience demonstrates the opposite. In their opinion, technical aid should be the business of private corporations in agreement with private Soviet firms.

And the most dangerous and foolish thing to do would be to give direct financial aid, U.S. experts believe. This is a sure path to the growth of corruption, which is directly proportional to the quantity of dollars distributed by an official. And it is also the path that guarantees the demoralization of the entrepreneur: It is always easier for him to feed "his" bureaucrat a little extra than to wage a fierce struggle for a free market.

We Must Not Use the "Russian Disaster" as a Scare Tactic.

Not everything listed here has become policy yet, but to a greater or lesser extent the United States and other Western countries will act in precisely this way. What are we to do? Russia is a great country, and the other republics are not helpless. We are capable of resolving our own problems—the sooner we do so, the quicker and more decisively will reforms take place. But it is also true that the participation of the United States and other Western countries would help to expedite this process. We must accept aid, but not solicit it. We must renounce the endless search for food purchase credits that is degrading, frequently fruitless, and never has any real effect on the state of our store counters. At any rate, both the government and political leaders must categorically renounce this. If really necessary, private business and charitable societies will get involved in this field.

And another very important point. There is an English saying that goes: "Don't cry wolf!" We must not use the "Russian disaster" to frighten people prematurely, otherwise when things really do get hard for us nobody will believe us or want to come to our aid.

China

PRC To Cooperate With Commonwealth States

LD1112081491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0323 GMT 11 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondents Vladimir Oreshin and Vladimir Fedoruk]

[Text] Beijing, 11 Dec (TASS)—China intends to develop relations of friendship and cooperation with Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine in the future, too, a representative of the PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs said today, in reply to the TASS correspondent's request to comment on the signing of the Minsk agreement.

The representative of the Chinese foreign political department confirmed that non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and respect for their people's choice, remain the Chinese Government's immutable position.

Northeast Asia

Yavlinskiy Meets Japanese Premier in Tokyo

LD1012181191 Moscow TASS in English 1744 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo December 10 TASS—Japan's Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa met top Soviet economist Grigoriy Yavlinskiy here today. The deputy chairman of the Soviet economic management committee arrived in Japan today at the invitation of the association of deputies of parliament from the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, for friendship between Japan and the USSR.

Miyazawa said ensuring political stability in the Soviet Union alongside efforts to enact economic reforms was the indispensable condition for Japan to provide financial aid.

During the 35-minute talk was devoted to the discussion of events in the Soviet Union with emphasis on economic reforms, Miyazawa said he understood the serious difficulties the Soviet Union is encountering during the transition to a market, according to a Japanese Foreign Ministry spokesman. [sentence as received]

Miyazawa noted, however, the reforms ought to be enacted consistently and decisively rather than bit by bit. "You won't jump across the river in two leaps," Miyazawa said. He emphasised the importance of stabilising the rouble and saturating the market with goods to dispel the people's worry and also developing infrastructure in the Soviet Union.

Presenting his own evaluation of the situation in the country, Yavlinskiy said the administrative-command system has ceased to exist, there would be no return to it and the transition to a market was fully supported by the population.

At the same time, crisis set in in the Soviet Union, he said. The country is at crossroads: Will further events develop peacefully or not. Yavlinskiy thinks price liberalisation, which is expected in Russia in the next few days, will not be comprehensive as the measure will push up inflation and increase public discontent.

Responding to a query from TASS, the Japanese spokesman said the meeting specifically discussed aid worth 2.5 billion dollars, which Tokyo promised to extend to the Soviet Union two months ago.

Japanese Reflect 'Confusion' Over Developments

LD1012151891 Moscow TASS in English
1035 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kopnov]

[Text] Tokyo December 10 TASS—"Japan hopes for peaceful changes in the Soviet Union, because turmoil on its territory may jeopardise Japan's security," general secretary of the Japanese cabinet of ministers Koichi Kato told a regular meeting of the government here today.

"The Soviet Union," Kato told a brief press conference here, "is our neighbour. It plays a big and important role both politically and from the point of view of security. It is absolutely clear that such a country's downslide to internal chaos will make our national security uncertain. We are following the developments with great attention."

Describing the views on the situation in the Soviet Union, expressed during the meeting of the Japanese Government, Kato said, among other things, that in Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe's opinion there was no chance for a quick settlement of the dispute between the three republics, which have proclaimed a commonwealth of independent states, and President Gorbachev, who is striving to preserve the union.

At the same time, Watanabe told journalists he "dared not predict" the outcome of the dispute. "If Russia and the other large republics achieve complete independence," he noted, "the USSR will cease to exist. Since the situation remains unclear, Japan is simply at a loss about aid to the USSR."

Today's statement by Minister for Foreign Trade and Industry Kozo Watanabe also reflected the confusion in the Japanese Government, caused by developments in the USSR. He said Tokyo should not make any hasty decisions on aid to the Soviet Union. "We must wait and see what turn the developments will take," the minister stressed.

Delay in Promised Japanese Aid Viewed

LD1112083191 Moscow TASS in English
1925 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kopnov]

[Text] Tokyo December 10 TASS—You have to wait three years to see a promise kept, a Russian saying goes. Only a year has elapsed since the Japanese Government announced its decision to extend prompt humanitarian aid worth 100 million US dollars to the Soviet Union. Many people here wonder if it will take another two years for the promised aid to reach its destination.

Spokesman for the Japanese Foreign Ministry Sadaaki Numata told a briefing here today that negotiations with the Soviet Union on deliveries are already in the home stretch. "We hope to resolve all problems quite soon," he said.

The delay was caused by the need to identify a list of the Soviet Union's priority requirements for food and medicine. In addition, the Japanese Government wanted dependable guarantees of repayment of the credits extended to the Soviet Union. Japan had no intention of providing free humanitarian aid.

According to information leaked to the press, the main obstacle was Tokyo's demand that all purchases of food and medicine be made in Japan alone. With the present level of prices in Japan, it is hardly an attractive proposition.

This brings to mind another, more recent promise by Japan: last October the government announced it would allocate an additional 2.5 billion dollars to buy humanitarian aid for the USSR, insure bilateral trade deals and issue credits. Of this amount, 500 million dollars are to be allocated to buy more food and medical supplies.

According to Sadaaki Numata, as soon as arrangements for the first 100 million dollars are finalized, Japan will begin to work intensively to realize the second aid package.

He added that the current emphasis is on urgent relief efforts, while consideration of other forms of financial

assistance will have to be put off until the political situation in the Soviet Union is clarified.

Developments of the past few days have given rise to new doubts in Japan concerning the Soviet partner's dependability.

According to Japanese mass media, Japan's Ministry for Foreign Trade and Industry has decided to freeze the issue of 350 million dollars to the USSR intended to help repay Soviet debts to Japanese companies, as well as to temporarily suspend the recently resumed insurance of Japanese investments in the USSR.

Sadaaki Numata refused to confirm these reports, but it is highly unlikely that Tokyo's position will change radically very soon.

Japan's Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe told journalists here today that the government, baffled by the uncertainty of the Soviet political situation, has no idea about what approach to take in the matter of aid to the Soviet Union.

Gold Sales to Japan Belie Shortage Reports

LD1112065491 Moscow TASS in English 1038 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovnin]

[Text] Tokyo December 10 TASS—The Soviet Union has sold to Japan 12 tonnes of gold in the period from January to August of this year. The "Tanaka Kikinzoku Kogyo" company, which imports Soviet gold, says it has no problems with obtaining the precious metal from partners in the former USSR. A representative of the firm said he did not feel there was an acute shortage of gold, as extensively claimed by the Western press.

In keeping with the 1987 contract, the "Tanaka Kikinzoku Kogyo" receives from the USSR by air a definite quantity of precious metal each time its reserves drop below the fixed level. Air shipments of gold were stopped for a while after the abortive August coup d'etat in the Soviet Union. However, everything is now "running very smoothly", a spokesman of the firm told the Tokyo weekly "AERA". "Every time we ask for a new lot of gold, we receive it within three to seven days", he said.

However, the overall quantity of gold deliveries diminished somewhat this year, as compared to 1989 and 1990, when respectively 18 and 19 tonnes of gold were sold to Japan.

Local specialists almost unanimously doubt the recent sensational statement by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy that there were only 240 tonnes of gold left in the Soviet Union, although the CIA estimates its reserves at 2-3 thousand tonnes.

Judging by figures on gold deliveries abroad and indirect data concerning its output, experts believe the true gold reserves of the former Soviet Union now amount to about 700-800 tonnes. Two hundred and forty tonnes are held by the USSR Finance Ministry, 374.5 tonnes—by the USSR State Bank, and another 110 tonnes are now in Swiss and other foreign banks as deposits for received credits, "AERA" writes with reference to expert estimates.

World gold prices dropped sharply in 1990 due to Moscow's one-time sale of a large quantity of this precious metal. However, the price of gold went up to 360 U.S. dollars per ounce again after Yavlinskiy's statement, since foreign buyers feared that deliveries from the former USSR would be cut.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Gorbachev To Receive De Klerk 13 Dec

LD1012162891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1540 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Petukhov and Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Dec (TASS)—USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev is scheduled to receive RSA President Frederik de Klerk on 13 December, Andrey Grachev, head of the USSR President's Press Service, announced at a briefing today.

The RSA president, he added, arrives in Moscow in the evening of 12 December. Announcing Frederik de Klerk's trip to the USSR, Andrey Grachev commented that there was an earlier agreement concluded on a visit to the Soviet Union by Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress of South Africa. In keeping with Nelson Mandela's work schedule, his visit to the USSR will take place in the first few days of January.

De Klerk Visit Postponed

LD1012184491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1823 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 10 Dec (TASS)—The directorate of information of the Ministry of External Relations reports that taking into account the wishes of the South African side, the visit of RSA President Frederik de Klerk to Moscow, announced earlier, has been postponed.

East Europe

Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Holds Talks

Shevardnadze Meets Makarczyk

LD1012233291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2138 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze received Poland's Deputy Foreign Minister Jerzy Makarczyk today. The two sides discussed questions of bilateral

relations and a treaty on the foundations of good-neighborly relations and friendly cooperation between the two countries, which was initialled in Moscow. However, by agreement between the sides, it will be signed only after the name, structure, and form of statehood of the successor to the USSR have been defined. [video shows Shevardnadze and Makarczyk sitting on a sofa]

Documents on Relations Initialled

LD1012161391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1432 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Dec (TASS)—Two key documents for the future of our country's relations with neighboring Poland were initialed today in Moscow. The first of them was countersigned by Yuriy Deryabin, deputy minister of external relations of the USSR, and Jerzy Makarczyk, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Poland, by signing each page of the text of the treaty on the principles of good-neighborly relations and friendly cooperation between the two countries, which creates a fundamentally new basis for the development of all-round contacts in line with the changes in both states and in Europe as a whole. However, considering the uncertainty about the future of the former Union, the document contains a proviso that the treaty will be signed only after the name, structure, and form of statehood of the USSR's successor has finally been determined.

An intergovernmental Soviet-Polish agreement on transit via the territory of the Republic of Poland by Soviet troops being withdrawn from Germany was also initialed today. This document has been the subject of lengthy and laborious discussions, which have involved a large number of diplomats, military men, and experts. The fact that it has been initialed, in the view of both sides, is an achievement for mutual understanding and a sensible compromise that meets mutual interests.

Jerzy Makarczyk was received by Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of external relations of the USSR.

The deputy head of the foreign political department of the Republic of Poland is expected to depart for home tomorrow.

Treaty Seen as 'Model'

LD1012194191 Warsaw PAP in English 1904 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, Dec. 10—A Polish-Soviet treaty on the principles of good neighbourliness and friendly cooperation was initialled here Tuesday by Secretary of State at the Polish Foreign Ministry Jerzy Makarczyk and Soviet Minister for Foreign Relations Yuriy Deryabin.

An annex to the treaty declares that wherever the treaty mentions the USSR it will refer exclusively to the future commonwealth, or Union of states that will be created in place of the Soviet Union. The sides also agreed that the treaty will be signed after such a union of states is formed, and at a time the two sides find suitable.

The Polish-Soviet treaty is a document of a new type that may serve as a model example of European cooperation. It has been tailored to contribute to the construction of a new order in Europe, Makarczyk declared.

The treaty defines the whole set of bilateral principles between Poland and her eastern neighbour, based on the decisions of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), on non-interference in internal affairs, and equality of both sides. There is no security clause in the text of the treaty that the Soviet side had insisted to include, because it could limit Poland's possibility to participate in certain defensive alliances.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze expressed hope that the treaty will help remove the past distortions in mutual relations. Speaking to Makarczyk during a separate meeting Shevardnadze said that hopefully not everything was lost after the declaration of leaders of Russia, Belorussia and Ukraine on the creation of a Commonwealth of Independent States. According to the Soviet foreign minister there is still a chance for an agreement among the majority of republics that formally form the Soviet Union.

While in moscow, Makarczyk also talked to Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Leonid Kolakolov and presented to him the Polish draft of a treaty between Poland and the Russian Federation. According to Makarczyk the Polish-Russian treaty may be signed shortly.

An agreement on transit of Soviet troops from Germany through Poland was also initialled Tuesday by Makarczyk and Deryabin. The document supplements the treaty of October, 1991, on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland, and defines precisely the political and financial terms of transit of Soviet troops through the Polish territory. The Soviet side does not rule out the possibility of transit through Czechoslovakia or Lithuania if those countries offer better financial terms.

Shevardnadze Message on Journalists in SFRY

LD1012175291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1643 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 10 December. (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of external relations, has asked his Yugoslav counterpart to help find the Soviet journalists Viktor Nogin and Gennadiy Kurinnoy, who are missing in Yugoslavia. According to an announcement from the Ministry's Information Directorate, Shevardnadze recently sent a message to this effect to Budimir Loncar, SFRY federal secretary for foreign affairs.

The document notes, specifically, that the internecine strife in Yugoslavia has also directly touched "the hearts of the near and dear of Soviet television journalists

Viktor Nogin and Gennadiy Kurinnoy, who disappeared on the territory of Croatia three months ago."

According to Shevardnadze, "the mothers of the missing journalists have not yet lost hope of seeing their children alive." "Their fate," he writes, "is of concern to millions of my fellow countrymen."

The minister observes with regret that all the measures taken to locate Nogin and Kurinnoy have produced no results so far. According to Shevardnadze, a number of representatives of Soviet law-enforcement agencies are soon to be sent to the SFRY, by agreement with the relevant bodies there.

The Soviet minister asks Loncar "to make use of all possibilities to determine the fate of the Soviet journalists."

Deryabin Discusses Relations With Hungary

AU1012185791 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 Dec 91 pp 1,3

[Interview with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuriy Deryabin by Laszlo M. Lengyel in Moscow; date not given: "Hungarian-Soviet Relations—End of an Era"]

[Excerpts] On 5 December, after our newspaper's deadline, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall left for Moscow and Kiev to sign the Hungarian-Soviet basic agreement with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and the Hungarian-Ukranian basic agreement with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk. Yuriy Deryabin gave an exclusive interview to the Moscow correspondent of NEPSZABADSAG on this occasion.

[Lengyel] How can the Soviet Union be defined from international legal point of view; whose foreign policy is the Soviet foreign policy; when negotiating with the Soviet Union, with whom do foreign states maintain political relations? With whom is the Hungarian Republic going to sign an agreement?

[Deryabin] The Soviet Union continues to be a subject of international law with full rights, and at the same time, the sovereign republics belonging to the Union are also subjects of international law with full rights. In this sense, the Union's ministry that we now call the Ministry of External Relations, is a tool of the union's foreign policy and an interstate or inter- republic organ of foreign policy; it operates with a competence that the sovereign states delegated to it. This way, in the international sphere and in international affairs, this ministry operates for both the Union and the sovereign republics. [passage omitted]

As for the political agreement to be signed with Hungary, we can say that the Hungarian Republic will sign it with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the old name is still being used); the Union will represent the interests of its member republics. During the preparations, we discussed this agreement with the sovereign republics, mainly the Russian Federation and the Ukraine, and it has a separate section on relations with the republics. This section states that—to quote it from memory—nothing in this agreement limits the rights of the republics regarding the passages and declarations on their independence and sovereignty, for example the establishment of direct diplomatic or consular relations. [passage omitted]

[Lengyel] What characterizes the Soviet Union's policy on Hungary today? What place does Hungary occupy in the Soviet policy toward Eastern Europe?

[Seryabin] We see Hungary as a prospective political partner, just as before. We could talk a lot about the good traditions in our relations, but we have to remove the bad ones once and for all.

The trend to return to Europe has a particular emphasis in Hungary today. Therefore, Hungary is also interesting for us as a prospective and equal partner participating in the European cooperation. We ourselves have used Hungary's experiences because Hungary was first in the region to find its way to the Council of Europe. In my view, Hungary showed political insight and foresight when, as one of the first countries in Eastern Europe, and probably the first country, it recognized the prospects of relation with the Council of Europe, the EC, the Western European Union, and the NATO.

In an economic sense, our previous interests will remain. Obviously, there are problems to be solved, and the question is how we can turn into reality the interest shown on both sides in this new situation and how we can overcome the difficulties resulting from the narrowing turnover of goods and payment problems.

In the current situation, when national and ethnic relations are in danger of exploding, and we do not have a real experience in solving these problems, the Hungarian experiences are definitely useful for us. We know how much importance Hungary attributes to the issue of national minorities. Therefore, for us, Hungary will be a prospective European partner in the future—while preserving our historical traditions. [passage omitted]

West Europe

UK Official To Visit, Discuss Minsk Events

LD1012060391 Moscow TASS in English 1509 GMT 9 Dec 91

[By TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Maastricht December 9 TASS—Political Director of the British Foreign Office Leonard Appleyard will come to the Soviet Union on Thursday to discuss with Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian representatives their decisions taken last Sunday in Minsk.

What has happened in Minsk is a natural development of Soviet events, which began with a coup attempt last

August, said the high- ranking British official at a briefing within the framework of the current European Council session.

It did not come as a surprise, he added.

European Council Considers Events in USSR

LD1112062491 Moscow TASS in English
1042 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Maastricht December 10 TASS—"The Soviet Union's disintegration adds weight to the French proposal to hold talks between Paris, London, Washington and Moscow on the problem of ensuring control over the Soviet nuclear arsenal," an official representative of the French delegation told a briefing held within the frameworks of the session of the European Council, now underway here.

"The problem is who will represent the Soviet side?" he noted. "In any case," the representative added, "the negotiations will have to be conducted both with the Soviet central authorities and the republican leaders."

This statement was made against the background of increasingly persistent claims that the twelve nations plan to issue a special declaration on Tuesday on the situation in the Soviet Union, stressing that Russia, Ukraine and Belorussia should adhere strictly to the USSR's armaments control commitments.

According to Political Director of the Luxembourg Foreign Ministry Jean-Jacques Kasel, high-ranking Dutch diplomat Cristian Krener will pay a visit to Ukraine on Thursday. His task is to obtain convincing proofs that Kiev will bear a part of the responsibility for treaties on nuclear and conventional armaments, signed by the USSR, that it will undertake to pay its share of the Soviet Union's foreign debt and not to violate the rights of its minorities.

It is common knowledge that the EC nations have still not officially recognised Ukraine's state independence, because they want to get the foregoing guarantees first. A high-ranking British diplomat is to go to the Soviet Union practically simultaneously with Krener. He plans to visit Moscow, Minsk and Kiev to determine the consequences of the "Minsk statement", released by the three republics, and their goals.

Norwegian Parliament Postpones Talks on Credits

LD1012222491 Moscow TASS in English
2050 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Loskutkov]

[Text] Oslo December 10 TASS—The Norwegian parliament on Tuesday postponed the discussion of the government's package of guaranteed state credits to the Soviet Union.

The move was prompted by the decision of the presidents of Russia, Ukraine and Byelorussia to create a Slavic commonwealth and proclaim the end of the Soviet Union.

The parliament urged the Norwegian Government to provide it with information about the current situation in the Soviet Union.

Norway was expected to grant the Soviet Union 1.8 billion krones, including 500 million krones for Norwegian pulp and paper-making supplies.

Political & Social

Reactions to Minsk Commonwealth Treaty Reported

Gorbachev's Concerns Outlined

LD1012151491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1410 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Petukhov and Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Dec (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev "is open to any variant of a Union treaty that is drawn up constitutionally, democratically, and publicly and is endorsed and adopted on the basis of the relevant procedures," Andrey Grachev, head of the USSR president's press service, stated at a briefing in Moscow today.

He reported that in Mikhail Gorbachev's view, the Union treaty "should be in line with the country's need to get out of the present economic crisis and to overcome acute political and interethnic problems." "The maintenance of stability and guaranteeing of the necessary continuity of authority, of law and order, and of the security both of citizens and of the whole state continue to be" the concern of the USSR president.

No Changes in Nuclear Control

LD1012150991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1444 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Petukhov and Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Dec (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev today confirmed that in the matter of nuclear weapons control, and in the guarantees regarding the reliability of this control, as in the management of the USSR's strategic potential, "no changes have taken place." This was reported today by the USSR president's press secretary Andrey Grachev, responding to questions from correspondents today at a briefing at the Ministry for External Relations press center.

He also noted that in the leadership of the country's Armed Forces "there have been no fundamental changes."

No Resignation 'Today'

LD1012160191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1515 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Petukhov and Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Dec (TASS)—"Mikhail Gorbachev is not thinking today of possible resignation," Andrey Grachev, head of the USSR president's press service, said today during a briefing.

As regards Mikhail Gorbachev's reaction to the signing of the agreement by the leaders of the three Slavic republics, the press service head reported that the USSR president requested confirmation of his vision of a "confederate democratic state, which could in the most effective way resolve the problems facing the country."

According to Andrey Grachev, the USSR president believes that it is possible that events will develop in a way at least not too far from that he considers correct. He is taking measures to that end. Mikhail Gorbachev is banking on "the support of society and existing political and legislative bodies," Andrey Grachev stressed.

Not Opposed 'in Principle'

LD1012174991 Moscow TASS in English 1512 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondents Sean Wood and Genine Babakian]

[Text] Moscow December 10 TASS—There was no reason for the Minsk Treaty to be drawn up in secrecy, Gorbachev spokesman Andrey Grachev told a press conference today commenting on Sunday's [8 December] surprise treaty uniting Russia, Ukraine and Belorussia into a Commonwealth of Independent States. Grachev reiterated that Gorbachev is not opposed to the treaty in principle, but to the process through which it came about. "Naturally, any sovereign state has the right to form any other entity or union. Gorbachev remains open to all possible options of political development and to future states that choose to form a new entity on the territory of the former Soviet Union."

Grachev emphasized this should be an open, legally justified process that will help the country overcome the existing crisis, ensure the security of its citizens, and continue democratic reform. As late as last week, when Gorbachev and Yeltsin met, there was no mention such an agreement would be proposed. During that time Yeltsin spoke of his intention to travel to Belorussia to meet with Belorussian President Stanislav Shushkevich and Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk to discuss the Ukrainian leadership's intentions, including their possible participation in Gorbachev's new Union Treaty. Perhaps foreshadowing Sunday's agreement, Yeltsin told Gorbachev if they did not succeed in drawing Ukraine into the proposed union they would have "to think of something else."

Gorbachev and President Nursultan Nazarbayev decided in a meeting yesterday to send the Minsk agreement along with the draft of the proposed Union treaty to the parliaments of all the sovereign states for review. However, even though the three Slavic states articulated the commonwealth is open to other former republics of the Soviet Union (and even to former East European countries), by neglecting to consult the leaders of the central Asian republics, the new commonwealth alienated them. According to Nazerbayev and three other

central Asian leaders though, they do not have any intention of forming a Muslim counterpart to the Slavic commonwealth.

Grachev also emphasized Gorbachev is still in control of the nuclear arsenal and armed forces and he currently has no intention to resign. In response to Kravchuk's suggestion yesterday that three "red buttons" distributed among the Slavic leaders would be a better mechanism to ensure nuclear safety, Grachev said, "You can push a button with one finger, you don't need three."

Grachev Explains Position

LD1012180891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1712 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Grachev, the head of the President's Press Service, today again explained Gorbachev's position at a briefing:

[Begin Grachev recording] The result of this meeting which, I think, has contributed toward clearing up those questions that have arisen recently, was the understanding that this document—or rather, this package of documents—which were signed in Belarus will be circulated to the parliaments of all the sovereign republics that make up the Soviet Union, and will there become, together with the draft Union treaty which has already been sent there, the subject of the most careful study.

In principle, the president's position comes down to the following: He is open to any variant which by constitutional, democratic, and open means will be elaborated, approved, and adopted on the basis of the corresponding procedures of society, and which will meet the requirements of extricating our country and the republics that comprise it from the present crisis, and of overcoming those acute political, socioeconomic, and interethnic problems which we are currently experiencing. His concerns remain those of preserving stability; providing the necessary continuity, legality, and security, both of the citizens of the Soviet Union and of our country as a whole, and of world stability. [end recording]

Compared to August Coup

LD1012203191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1730 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] I have to say that the questions put to Andrey Grachev were approximately the same as those put at the [Burbulis-Kozyrev-Shakhray] press conference I have already told you about. But among them was a question about whether the situation that has now developed could be compared with the situation in August. The reply was, of course, clear on this: Any parallel with August is simply not right. The aims—creating a law-governed state, democratizing all of our structures, creating a market, guaranteeing human rights—the aims are the same, as held both by the leaders of the three republics who signed such important documents and by the country's president, who devotes so much energy and feeling to the process of signing the Union treaty, although the methods are, perhaps, slightly different.

Asian Republics Show 'Understanding'

PM1012112791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Dec 91 Union Edition p 1

[Roundup by Yu. Orlik: "Understanding Response in Central Asia and Kazakhstan to Gorbachev's Appeal"]

[Text] The parliament of the former Union was the first to heed M. Gorbachev's desperate entreaties regarding the need to urgently sign the Union Treaty—the president reckons that delay will mean its demise. This was only to be expected. The preservation of the Union, although in truncated form, also means the preservation of the Supreme Soviet, albeit with changed functions.

Regrettably, the Union parliament does not decide much today. Real power is with the republics. In the near future they are to determine their positions on the draft treaty on the union of sovereign states.

The situation has also been complicated by Ukraine's categorical refusal to take part in any political alliances and by its parliament's denunciation of the 1922 Union Treaty. Both Gorbachev and Yeltsin reiterate that they cannot imagine the Union without Ukraine. These are words of distress, but not of hope. And there is regrettably no reason to think that the meeting of the "three" in Minsk and the "four" in Moscow will come to the rescue.

How did the other republics respond to M. Gorbachev's appeal?

This is what our correspondents reported.

Kazakhstan—"The appeal from the country's president to the republic parliaments met with an understanding response in our republic," Z. Fedotova, deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, said. "Kazakhstan's stance on this issue remains the same: The republic Supreme Soviet favors preserving the Union. I think that the question of signing the Union treaty will be on the agenda at the next session of our parliament, due to open 10 December."

Georgia—The Georgian parliament has effectively ignored USSR President Gorbachev's appeal to the Supreme Soviets of the sovereign republics. There has been no response to this appeal from the Georgian parliament or the republic's president.

Moldova—A. Moshanu, chairman of the Moldovan parliament, expressed profound understanding of President Mikhail Gorbachev's concern over the prospect of the collapse of the multiethnic state and the grave consequences that this disintegration could entail. However, Aleksandru Moshanu said, the Republic of Moldova has already made its choice in proclaiming independence.

Dushanbe—"I am sure that we must proceed on the basis of historical realities in assessing the future of our state," is the view of A. Dzhabbarov, chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet Committee for State Building. "Economic and political relations between the republics were structured and developed in such a way for more than 70 years that I do not think that there is any alternative to the Union today."

Kyrgyzstan—A session of the republic Supreme Soviet will be held 11 December. In the opinion of many deputies, the Kyrgyz parliament will back M. Gorbachev's efforts to preserve the Union of Sovereign States.

Turkmenia—"Mikhail Gorbachev is right: The situation in the country is more than alarming," S. Muradov, chairman of the Turkmen Supreme Soviet, believes. "Its development has effectively reached rock bottom. We ourselves favor the Union and will never abandon this principle. We will sign the treaty."

The readiness of the Kazakh and Central Asian leaders to back Gorbachev in his efforts to avert the collapse of the Union, if it takes the form of corresponding decisions on the part of the republics' Supreme Soviets, at best promises us a union of states with totally different geographical outlines, ethnic composition, and economic potential. And, to all appearances, with different political orientations. Ukraine's withdrawal from the Union increases our isolation from Europe.

In addition, it must be noted that the process of republic sovereignization is not over. So even the conclusion of a Union treaty will hardly alleviate the problems facing the former Union.

Other Republic Attitudes

OW1112044191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1958 GMT 10 Dec 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "It is too early yet to give rapid-fire judgments of this event, but Kazakhstan must be ready for any turn of events," said President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan, commenting on the proclamation of the Community of Independent States. He believes Kazakhstan can solve its problems independently, although his government still supports integration.

The Government of Turkmenistan is "attentively studying" the agreement signed between the three Slav republics on forming a Community of Independent States, says a ruling of the Presidential Council, at which the agreement signed by the leaders of Russia, the Ukraine and Belarus was debated.

President Askar Akayev of Kyrgyzstan is in general supportive of the agreement to form a Community of Independent States, an INTERFAX correspondent was informed by a presidential aide. Kyrgyzstan, the aide went on to say, has no other alternative but to support the desire of the Slav states for a new community at a time of increasing Islamic fervor.

The agreement signed by Belarus, Russia and the Ukraine was described as "revolutionary" by President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan. But at the same time the Uzbek leader reacted negatively to current statements that the agreement represented a "gathering of the Slavic republics." President Karimov made the point that the signing of the Minsk agreement rendered Mikhail Gorbachev's new design for a Union treaty stillborn.

"If the community is formed," said President Mintimer Shaymiyev of Tatarstan," I believe all the former Union republics will join it." He was particularly insistent that the way should be open for the former autonomous republics to join the Community as they acquired their own statehood At the same time President Shaymiyev categorically opposed any formation of a community of former Soviet states on national or religious lines.

Lithuania was not asked to join the Community of Independent States. Lithuania has never planned to sign or join this or any other union with other republics, said a Lithuanian parliamentary spokesman.

The formation of the unions like the Community of Independent States is a "decision for the parliament of each state," said Latvian parliamentary chairman, Anatoliy Gorbunov. He went on to say that Latvia would conduct its relations with other states on the basis of bilateral agreements.

Widespread Reactions Cited

PM1112115691 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Dec 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Do We Need a Union?"]

[Excerpts] [passage Omitted] Moscow—According to Andrey Grachev, the USSR president considers it possible for the development of events not to diverge too severely from what he thinks right, and is making efforts accordingly. Here Mikhail Gorbachev counts on "the support of society and the existing political and legislative structures," Andrey Grachev stressed.

Belarus sees no prospect of concluding a Union treaty along the path chosen by the center, Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet, stated at a press conference yesterday.

The prospect of convening an extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies is dubious, in Shushkevich's opinion. "I think that to convene a Congress today for the sake of preserving the presidential structure is not a serious suggestion. The Ukrainian representatives will not come, nor will the majority of Russians and a significant proportion of Belarussians," he believes.

The leader of the Belarus parliament noted that the new Union cannot be regarded as a purely Slav commonwealth. He stressed that this is not the "Solzhenitsyn option." We have no racial, national, or religious restrictions, our commonwealth is open to all.

Shushkevich reported that he has already put a proposal, in the name of the "troika," to all the remaining components of the former Union to adhere to the agreement or express their views on their possible terms for adhering to it. [passage omitted]

Shakhnazarov, clarifying his position, said that if the decisions adopted in Minsk are implemented, "the Union organs will have to be cut back." In other words, the situation taking shape means that the resignation of the USSR president and his "team" is possible.

The failure to initial the draft Union treaty prompted great anxiety and concern among the leadership of the interrepublic trade unions of base sectors of industry. In this connection they have adopted a joint appeal to the presidents and parliaments of the sovereign states of the former Union. [passage omitted]

Ryzhkov Opposed

OW1112021191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 10 Dec 91

[From "Bulletin 2"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Former Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov signed his name Tuesday [10 October] on a request to call an extraordinary Congress of Soviet Peoples' Deputies on the question of the creation of a union by three republics. "I cannot support the idea of the creation of a commonwealth of Slavic states, its a dead end road." he said in an interview with an "IF" [INTERFAX] correspondnet. To divide the republics into Slavic and non-Slavic unions is not a far-sighted political idea. It was not necessary to sign the Novo-Ogarevo variant of the Union treaty, Ryzhkov says, "it would have been possible to develop some sort of third variant, but it should be the state, and not something amorphous." In theory if the rest of the republics were to join the Commonwealth, Ryzhkov nevertheless thinks, as he himself expressed, that the declaration by the three was a nationalist smack. He added that this in particular could create problems for Russian President Yeltsin in multinational Russia.

Report Comments on 'Divergence of Views'

PM1012162991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Tsikora under "Direct Line" rubric: "The Views of the Presidents Differ Fundamentally"]

[Text] Kiev—While the heads of three independent states—Belarus, Russia, and the Ukraine—were signing documents in Beloveskaya Forest, USSR President M. Gorbachev was appearing on Ukrainian television.

A clear divergence of views was revealed: M. Gorbachev believes that we can get nowhere without a Union in the form of a single state, whereas B. Yeltsin, S. Shushkevich, and L. Kravchuk claim that the Union is a spent force and are setting up a new community.

Returning late at night to Kiev, the Ukrainian president said at the airport that the idea of a community hatched by the three Slav republics is the prototype of the kind of union to which the countries of West Europe are now aspiring.

The part of M. Gorbachev's speech where, referring to his own presentiments, he considered the possibility of territorial claims against one another on the part of states deciding to leave the Union caused bewilderment in the Ukraine. Russia, in M. Gorbachev's words, could for example demand part of the territory of the present Kazakhstan, or claim Kharkov, the Crimea, and the Donbass...

Viability of Minsk Trio's Plans Questioned

PM1112111191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 91 pp 1-2

["Our Commentary" by A. Ilin and V. Shirokov: "Where Does This Road Lead: To a Bridge over a Precipice?"]

[Text] The "Belaya Vezha" [white tent]—a white stone watchtower situated in a Belarussian virgin forest reserve—has witnessed an event whose consequences could endure for decades to come. For these consequences will be projected onto the destinies of many peoples in our country, onto the destiny of each of us.

The Union of Republics, which is becoming indistinct as though in a dense fog and receding into historical nonexistence, has become a pain in our hearts. Even if we did not feel strong and confident in the Union, we were, at the very least, relatively stable and had a steady future. That sense of reliability is now running away like sand through our fingers, causing citizens of the once powerful and influential country to feel uncertain and anxious.

The shaky nature of such an existence could not last forever—not having a firm support beneath their feet, the people could not and did not want to engage in the creation of just anything. The political seismograph was predicting a muffled subterranean storm, and the politicians could not fail to notice that. This critical crisis situation could have been resolved by the nationwide March referendum. And the people expressed their view, and did so unequivocally. Nevertheless, some people managed to misinterpret that decision. People's deputies returned repeatedly to a discussion of this situation at congresses and sessions. They were unable to reach a final decision on anything to do with the path to be followed. The heads of the republics joined in the Novo-Ogarevo process—an agonizing and painful process—but, apart from a mass of drafts of the Union Treaty, they gave birth to nothing solid. But meanwhile the "Union quake" was continuing, the fundamental life

supports were crumbling, and despair and dismay were increasingly taking a hold on people.

This is why the meeting of the heads of three republics in Belarus attracted universal attention. We are convinced that millions of our fellow citizens were sitting by their televisions and radios, waiting for the results of the meeting. Of course, it was clear to everyone that the results of these talks closed to journalists would be out of the ordinary—the country is hanging on above a precipice by a miracle, and only resolute steps can lead it away from the deadly brink. And yet the outcome of the meeting came as a surprise to many people, equivalent to a lightning strike of shock. The former country no longer exists officially, and the leaders of the three largest republics denounced the Union treaty and concluded an agreement on the formation of a community of independent states.

Today we are publishing an account of the documents adopted at the Belarussian meeting. You might think that they sound sufficiently clear and laconic, but in our view, nevertheless, they still give rise to many doubts, thoughts, and—there is no denying it—questions.

This one, for example: Will the "alliance of three" be able to become the crystal around which the structures of a new community will grow, or, on the contrary, will it be a catalyst to accelerate the country's further uncontrolled disintegration? And again: Will the dashing cry "Come on, Slavs!" not act as a boost to the secession of Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republic-states, of the Caucasus and Moldova?

In addition, it is essential to remember the Fifth Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies in connection with this step by the three leaders. At that time, the beginning of September, the country's president and the leaders of 10 republics literally stunned the congress participants with a joint statement on unprecedented measures designed, so it was maintained, for a transitional period. All the functions of power essentially passed to the State Council, and so precisely these 11 top leaders assumed responsibility for the country's destiny. Such a maneuver seemed politically justified. Hopes emerged that the "abandonment of stereotypes" would help to halt the process of the republics' rapid flight to "national apartments" and make it possible to take the really slack economy in hand and to reach agreement on practical actions to create a new Union.

M. Gorbachev has confidently said: "The chances of signing the Union treaty among the Union republics have not been missed." We did not want to believe the predictions of the foreign press which, like Britain's THE GUARDIAN, for example, declared: "It will clearly not be possible to rescue the present Union from the ruins... Yesterday we said 'Farewell' to the Soviet Union." And we could not believe it because we have already experienced so many times the collapse of our hopes and heard so many death-dealing prophecies that we have grasped literally convulsively even at the glimmer of the last hope—hope which, as we know, is the last to die...

It is sad but, as has frequently been the case recently, the political maneuvers have again not been vindicated and have resulted in the surrender of positions. Having debarred the people (let us remember the referendum) and then the Congress of People's Deputies from influencing "big politics," they then made the country rigidly dependent on the will of just a few leaders—a dependence sometimes resulting just from the general situation and the struggle of political forces in the republics and in the country. Well, we are now once again reaping the fruits of that approach, and again the peoples and every individual have been presented with a fait accompli. Only the circle of "celestial beings" has narrowed still further—to three or four leaders.

At first glance the "Belaya Vezha" documents seem to embrace the whole range of most acute and urgent problems—economic, political, military-strategic, social, and ecological. It only remains to ask: Who will be responsible for implementing specific, practical decisions, if the Union organs are being decisively abolished, and if they are not envisaged even for the next "transitional period"? And if a parity center is formed just the same, located in Minsk, how effective will it be? And we would like to know: Will the control of nuclear weapons also be moved somewhere? Or will those "buttons" be influenced only "politically"? What will be the attitude of Western and Eastern partners in military talks to such an original solution? Questions, questions...

Yes, it seems that the planned community is open to all the former republics of the Union and even to "other states." Only, will they not be put on their guard by such an "annexation"? After all, such a thing has happened in history before. And what will be the response of the autonomous entities, which somehow fortuitously seem to have been forgotten about?

Has the meeting in Moscow of M. Gorbachev, B. Yeltsin, and N. Nazarbayev (as is known, L. Kravchuk and S. Shushkevich did not participate in it) provided the answer to this wall of questions? Unfortunately, we had not yet received detailed information by the time the newspaper went to press.

Be that as it may, one more "trio" is trying to decide (once again behind tightly closed doors) your destiny and ours. They will decide what they will decide, but will the people stay silent this time too...?

PRAVDA Told Not 'Legal Successor'

Means 'Financial Collapse'

LD1012221391 Berlin ADN in German 2127 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The political daily PRAVDA cannot appear tomorrow. ADN has learned that the editorial office was asked to clear a large part of the

building. The lights, electricity and telephone were cut off. No more visitors are permitted. Prior to this the chief of the publishing house submitted to the editorial office a bill for about 20 million rubles owed by the newspaper.

A high-ranking representative from the RSFSR Information Ministry has told the editorial office in a letter that the newspaper, which has been appearing as an independent political daily since the disbanding of the CPSU, is not the legal successor to the old PRAVDA. According to the editorial office, this means the loss of their building, and financial collapse. The conditions thus created meant that PRAVDA can no longer be published.

The editorial office intends to brief the public about the paper's future at a news conference tomorrow.

Article by Employees

PM1112122591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Dec 91 pp 1-2

[Article signed by PRAVDA employees: "New Attempt To Stifle PRAVDA"—last paragraph is boxed announcement accompanying item and appearing on page one]

[Text] The lights, electricity supply, and telephones were cut off at PRAVDA's main production premises yesterday. The Permit Bureau has banned the issue of editorial office entry permits to readers, nonstaff writers, and visitors in need of PRAVDA's help.

The newspaper's leadership and the majority of its staffers effectively have been cut off from the outside world. The production of the issue of the newspaper for which this item is being written is under threat. All this has been done on the orders of Mikhail Kostrov, deputy director of the publishing house which was created—here is an irony of democracy—as the PRAVDA newspaper publishing house.

What was the reason for this unprecedented, yet—let us say this right away—equally expected unlawful attack on PRAVDA and its millions of readers?

At a session of the editorial collegium, Mikhail Stepanovich read out a letter which took the form of an ultimatum. Among other things it instructs the PRAVDA editorial office to vacate two-thirds of the working premises occupied by its staffers by 12 December. (Incidentally, this is also the location of the photographic laboratory, without which the paper cannot be produced.)

This ultimatum turns everything upside down, as it were. It contravenes existing legislation and the real facts, and pursues a single aim: To place the editorial staff in conditions under which the production of PRAVDA is impossible.

However, this is not the first attempt to close the paper down. We would recall that PRAVDA was closed many times under the czar, once under the Provisional Government, and finally the democrats closed it after the events in August this year. Each time, however, the newspaper was reborn; defending the lawful interests, rights, and freedoms of its readers as far as was possible in conditions of the existing regime.

Paradoxical as it may seem, we are grateful to RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin for the last closure of the newspaper. It enabled the collective to free itself from the diktat of the CPSU Central Committee partocrats and itself become the founder of the newspaper. The new PRAVDA duly underwent reregistration at the RSFSR Ministry of Information and the Press, and was given the appropriate certificate, and it registered the editorial office statutes at the Moscow City Soviet's Interdepartmental Commission on Public Associations. From then on, as we had hoped, by relying on the USSR Law "On the Press and Other Mass Media" the journalists, as founders of the newspaper, will themselves be able to define its tactics and strategy primarily on the basis of the readers' interests. The collective decided to oppose all manifestations of lawlessness, regardless of who is the perpetrator and who is the target.

Clearly, however, it was this stand by PRAVDA in the present times, when the very concept of the rule of law is increasingly becoming a relative concept, that was not to the liking of the publishing house's parvenu owners. The editorial office received a letter signed by M. Fedotov, RSFSR deputy minister of the press and the mass media, which announced that we did not have legal title as successor. In fact, this spelled financial ruin for the new PRAVDA and meant that it was impossible for the editorial office to use the premises it had occupied for many years, the printing facilities and so forth, and this despite the fact that the PRAVDA statutes, which as has been said already, are legally registered, stipulates legal title to the fixed assets and circulating capital.

There is another point on the legal aspect of the case. As is well known, the PRAVDA publishing house was formed in 1929 to publish, according to its statutes, the daily newspapers PRAVDA, RABOCHAYA GAZETA, and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, and other periodical and nonperiodical publications. In time the publishing house developed into a large, amalgamated complex, although the editorial offices of the newspapers and magazines were never under the jurisdiction of the publishing house itself but were under the control of their executive editors and editorial collegiums. The general budget of the publishing house's expenditure contains budgets allocated to the editorial offices of the individual publications. The resources allocated to editorial offices were and still are used under the general direction of the editors and the editorial collegiums of the main papers and magazines.

The editorial offices amalgamated around the publishing house together with the fixed assets and circulating capital belonging to them. They transferred to the publishing house all the profits from their activity. Since

only 1945, for example, PRAVDA has transferred over 700 million rubles. This money and subsidies from the former CPSU Central Committee have been used to expand and improve the material and technical base of the editorial offices and the publishing house itself. As the legal experts are saying, what we are dealing with here is the ownership, use, and disposal of joint property to which the PRAVDA editorial office has the absolute right of disposal, and the utilization of the premises of the editorial office and part of the printing facilities and office equipment.

So any attempt to interfere in the paper's management, operational, and editorial activities is both impermissible and a gross violation of existing legislation, and in particular, the RSFSR law "On Enterprises and Entrepreneurial Activity."

Now we come to the appearance—which came as a surprise to all the owners of the joint property of the PRAVDA publishing house—of the "Pressa" state publishing house leasehold enterprise, on behalf of which Mikhail Kostrov read out the aforementioned letter-ultimatum at yesterday's editorial collegium. We believe that this "Pressa" state publishing house does not, strictly speaking, exist in juridical terms since it was formed and registered contrary to existing legislation.

In the first place, there has been no general meeting (conference) of the entire publishing house collective, and the collective did not make any decision to switch to a lease. On 23 August 1991 there was a meeting attended only by representatives of trade union organizations of components of the publishing house itself. This is intolerable usurpation of the collective's role in deciding on the question of a lease. However, this trade union meeting did decide to organize a leasehold enterprise—the "Independent PRAVDA Publishing House," but not the "Pressa" state publishing house.

Second, the switch to a leasehold arrangement did not take into consideration—or, more accurately, crudely flouted—the property, financial, and other rights of the editorial boards of the newspapers and journals that formerly comprised the combined PRAVDA publishing house. Their share of the joint property under the publishing house's common roof was not determined.

Third, the proper lessor is the "Izdatelstvo" [Publishing House] association, not the RSFSR Ministry of Information and the Press, since only one of the association's components—the publishing house—is transferring to a leasehold arrangement.

In short, as can be seen, a deliberate attack is being made on PRAVDA, its readers, glasnost, and the USSR law "On the Press and Other Mass Media," which no one has revoked yet. And the letter-ultimatum presented to the paper's editorial collegium on behalf of the illegally established "Pressa" publishing house is merely a link in a hastily manufactured chain which is being used to throttle PRAVDA economically and morally.

PRAVDA is already sharing premises—the editorial offices of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's weekly, ROSSIYA, have moved onto the fifth floor, but as they say, do someone a good turn and you'll regret it...

To avoid any misunderstanding, we must state that the Legal Economic, and Political Information Center also is located in the building. However, that is a commercial component of the newspaper, not a separate organization. Remember that the editorial office statutes presuppose commercial activity in market conditions. So here, too, everything is within the law.

We want to stress that the attack on PRAVDA is just another step in the new authorities' trail of lawlessness. Today no one can fail to sense the mounting social and political tension in society. We seem to be nearing some kind of denouement. One would like to point out here that in a truly democratic state—which the new authorities actively set about building—all questions, disputes, and friction must be resolved by legal means alone.

They have decided to throw PRAVDA's staffers out onto the street and to trample the entire publishing house underfoot—please, we appreciate your impatience, but let us operate through the courts, as in a civilized society.

One thing we are profoundly convinced of. The use of strong-arm methods in an attempt to slice off the tastier morsels for one's own purposes certainly will rebound on those who ideologically motivated and inspired it.

PRAVDA is a touchstone, the criterion for determining whether or not the intentions and aims of the new authorities who call themselves democratic are genuine. The attack on the paper's rights, the attempt to destroy it, to shut its mouth, is an attack on the rights of everyone. The death of PRAVDA will be the death of freedom of expression and freedom of the press. The attack on PRAVDA is an attack on opposition, on dissent. All dictatorships have started out that way.

...Yesterday only PRAVDA's lights and telephones were cut off, only PRAVDA's readers were barred from making contact. But which of our colleagues will be isolated from the rest of the world tommorrow?

In connection with the events surrounding PRAVDA, the editorial office will be holding a news conference at 1200 hours [1000 GMT] today in the editorial collegium's conference hall. We invite Soviet and foreign colleagues to attend.

News Conference Scheduled

LD1012230191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2138 GMT 10 Dec 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] I have here a copy of PRAVDA for 11 December. The newspaper reports that the electricity and telephones at its main technical center were switched off on 10 December. The reception desk was told to refuse

admission to the editorial office to newspaper readers, nonstaff writers, and other visitors. In connection with these events the editorial office is holding a news conference at 1200 Moscow time [1000 GMT] on 11 December to which it is inviting Soviet and foreign journalists. Our camera crew will be there, and we will tell you about the causes of the conflict that has arisen.

Pro-Union 'Rebirth' Party Announces Aims

PM0612220891 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 91 p 2

[Report by A. Podkopalov: "'Rebirth' Party. A Renaissance?"]

[Text] At a press conference yesterday the well-known "Soyuz" member Yevgeniy Kogan announced the start of active work to set up the "Rebirth" ["Vozrozhdeniye"] Party. A committed internationalist, he disregards the new state borders and prefers to count on the aggrieved national minorities on the territory of the former Union and autonomous republics. Only recently Yevgeniy Vladimirovich and his comrades have made campaign trips to the North Caucasus, the Dnestr region, and Gagauzia. A certain indifference toward the remaining population of Russia and the republics is due to the fact that in Ye. Kogan's opinion they have not yet felt for themselves the full pernicious effects of the country's disintegration.

"Rebirth" does not recognize the legality of the new state formations on the territory of the Union and is categorically opposed to Russia's swallowing up the last Union structures. The sole source of legitimacy is the USSR Constitution.

The struggle is expected to be a tough one, and it is highly probable, in Ye. Kogan's opinion, that variations on the Northern Ireland theme will occur in some places. Yevgeniy Vladimirovich stressed repeatedly that he personally is prepared to go to prison and even die. In fact, the press conference began with an announcement by the organizers on the funeral of a member of the "Rebirth" executive committee, A. Petrov, chairman of the Trade Unions Bank board, who was shot in the doorway of his own apartment. Ye. Kogan and his colleagues believe it was a political assassination.

New Procommunist Party Holds News Conference

Called Socialist Workers Party

LD0712123891 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 6 Dec 91

[Report by V. Kukushkin from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A news conference held by a new, procommunist party, registered recently, ended two and one-half hours ago. The party is called the Socialist Workers Party [Sotsialisticheskaya Partiya Trudyashchikhsya]. According to speakers, its main objective is to build socialism, but in accordance with the new principles. Many deputies who used to belong to the Communists of Russia and middle-level apparatchiks have already joined this party. The members of the new party consider it to be the CPSU's successor in law on the territory of the republic. Speakers noted that the new party will renounce violent methods and be a party of the parliamentary type.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] As the successor by law to the Communist Party, will the new party fight for power?

[Unidentified man on platform] Any political party naturally considers that the question of power and the need to win the confidence of the voters are the principal issues.

[Historian Roy Medvedev] We are creating a new party. It is a party of the new type, if one may be permitted to use the old terminology. [end recording]

Congress To Be Held 21-22 Dec

PM1112111791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 91 p 2

[Report by N. Lyaporov under the rubric "In Parties and Movements": "Preparing for the Congress"]

[Text] Will the new party have a reserve of ideas and energy to really help people carry out the difficult restructuring of life? This was in essence the central question at the press conference held by the organizing committee of the Socialist Party of Working People (its congress will be held 21-22 December).

At the organizing committee before the meeting began I was shown a letter from Obninsk (Kaluga Oblast) with a characteristic caption: "Do we need this party?" Scientific worker Yu. Zagorulko, the author of the letter, answers: Yes, we do. "I think," he writes, "that we now have a unique opportunity to create a socialist-oriented party free of dogmatism and barracks discipline, a party in which the top post belongs to its rank and file members and whose activity is based on common sense and consistent humanism."

Some people formed the opinion that dyed-in-the-wool former party apparatchiks would flock to join the Socialist Party of Working People. And what can you expect from them—the same old ideological preconceptions and command methods. However, the organizing committee has different information. It is true that there are party workers among the Socialist Party of Working People members, although they are not old hands but young people who managed to "bide their time" for a year or two in the party apparatus. They constitute less than 12 percent and their proportion of the total membership of the party is falling. Communists are joining the party but they are not the only ones. Some 30 percent of recruits are non-party people. The age range is wide—from 18-year-olds to gray-haired veterans. Territorial

and professional primary organizations are being created locally, and in many Russian oblasts and autonomous formations applications have been submitted for regional party conferences. In short, precongress work is in full swing.

Constitutional Democratic Party Program Announced

LD1012055991 Moscow TASS in English
1240 GMT 9 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Vdovin]

[Text] Moscow December 9 TASS—"In conditions of our country, constitutional democracy is a variant of liberal neoconservatism", Dmitriy Rogozin, deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the Constitutional Democratic Party (People's Freedom Party) told TASS. "The party's proclaimed goals are the building of democracy and of a market economy based on radical reforms and the alteration of the constitutional system".

Formed at the turn of the century, the Constitutional Democratic Party independently existed till 1922. The party resumed its activity this year after holding a restoration congress in June 1991. Now the party has a membership of about 6,000 and is represented by five republics—Russia, Ukraine, Moldavia, Belorussia and Kazakhstan.

"The party declares for a federation which would be fully suited to specific features of the country. The split into republics will inevitably plunge the country into a civil war and, will consequently affect its economic development", Rogozin said. "It is necessary to look for a constitutional precedent for the solution of ethnic problems. We believe that split of the country will strengthen the forces which declare against democracy and the introduction of a market economy".

Constitutional democrats also offer original solution to self-determination of nations. "It is a right of every individual freely to determine his or her nationality", Rogozin said. "We are against documents specifying their holders' nationality. Let each person decide his or her nationality according to mother tongue".

The Constitutional Democratic Party also declares for the creation of a strong democratic state. Rogozin believes the rights of an individual can be reliably protected only by this kind of state.

In the economic area, constitutional democrats declare for a minimum role of the state. "The economy must rest on three pillars—privatisation, demonopolisation and deregulation", Rogozin holds. "Our country has seen the ills of planned economy. Our programme essentially calls for the emergence of the biggest possible number of proprietors. We favour the priority of private property, of medium and small business. The state should only be responsible for key industries or areas in which private entrepreneurs show no interest". Rogozin believes that the introduction of a flexible system of taxation will encourage less developed areas and hold more developed in check.

Zhirinovsky Places Blame for 'Developments'

OW0912114491 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1715 GMT 7 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO at 0805 GMT on 9 December]

[Text] Saturday [7 December] the Liberal-Democratic Party led by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy held a rally in Sokolniki, a Moscow park, and bashed Gorbachev, Yeltsin and Jews. People's Deputies of the USSR Aleksandr Kraiko and Colonel Petrushenko spoke to blame the Union and Russian leaders for all the developments in the country.

According to the Press-service of the Moscow City Hall, Colonel Petrushenko said that "his hand won't shake to execute the sentence on the current rulers."

After the rally Zhirinovskiy and several hundreds of his followers went to the jail "Matrosskaya Tishina" where the August coup leaders are held in custody. Mr. Zhirinovskiy said it was a disgrace that all the former Soviet leaders were in jail and said that the time will come when "the people will demolish this Russian Bastille."

Trade Union Appeal Urges Union Treaty Signing

924A0287A Moscow TRUD in Russian
5 Dec 91 p 1

[Unattributed report on appeal of interrepublic trade union organs: "We Must Not Cut Out What Is Vital: Appeal to the Presidents and Parliaments of the Sovereign States"]

[Text] **The interrepublic trade union organs of the basic industries have appealed to the presidents and parliaments of the sovereign states in connection with the recurrent breakdown in the signing of the Union treaty.**

It will not be possible for a long time to divide energy, metallurgy, chemistry, railroad transport, the oil and gas complex, and the coal industry into individual regional organizations. The economic relations in the country evolved over decades, and a high degree of integration has been achieved. Every attempt to cut out what is vital will lead to colossal losses. Today, the miners of the Donbass are already standing idle because of the nondelivery of Russian timber. Ukraine, in turn, is disrupting the delivery of mining equipment to Russia. The breakdown in deliveries of Kazakhstan coal to other republics threatens to cause a stoppage of their power and metallurgical enterprises. There is a shortage of metal and oil products everywhere. The specter of unemployment hangs over the workers of Russia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and other independent states.

The delay in the signing of a treaty postpones for an indefinite time the measures without which it is impossible to stabilize the economy and create normal conditions for the functioning of the national economies of the sovereign states.

Trade union organs of the leading industries of the country are appealing to politicians who are taking part in the signing of a Union treaty to discard everything that is temporizing, to display common sense, and to adopt courageous and correct decisions. The Union treaty should be signed this year, the authors of the appeal emphasize.

Gorbachev: 'Order? Let Us Instill Some'

LD0712011191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 6 Dec 91

[Excerpts] Defenders of the capital joined young people and guests this evening at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Battle for Moscow. [passage omitted]

Presidents Gorbachev and Yeltsin entered the foyer. It goes without saying that everyone wanted to get closer, to talk about this and that. They found themselves surrounded by such a dense crowd that they were unable to break away for almost an hour. Questions just came and came and came. [video shows Gorbachev wagging his finger at those around him]

[Begin Gorbachev recording] Veterans in particular have the greatest right of all—the moral right, I would say—to tell everyone today: We fell in battle in order to save this country. We shall not go along with those politicians who are trying to cast this country to the winds and with it everything that has been created over a thousand years. This is not a matter just for us, for those engaging in politics today or those living in this country today. No, this is a matter concerning all those who have created this world over a thousand years. Those who will come after us. So we should not exaggerate our role on this earth. Rather we should be answerable both to those who created it and, so to speak, watered it with their sweat and blood, and to those who are to come and who will say: What's this? Some people put this land together and then others cast it to the winds, rather than bringing order to it. Order? Let us instill some. [end recording]

Gorbachev Sends Congratulations to Nazarbayev

LD1112100791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0808 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 11 Dec (TASS)—USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has sent a telegram to President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan in which he cordially congratulated the latter on his inauguration as president of sovereign Kazakhstan, following a convincing election victory. I wish you all possible success, the president writes, in your efforts aimed at stabilizing the political situation, carrying out profound reforms, and developing all-round ties with the other states of our Union.

First Female Adviser Appointed Gorbachev Aide

PM1112101991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 91 p 2

[RIA-AFP report under general headline: "In a Few Lines"]

[Text] On 5 December the USSR president's press service announced the appointment of Gorbachev's first woman adviser. Galina Semenova, former chief editor of the magazine KRESTYANKA and a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, has become an adviser or, more correctly, female adviser. The president's new aide is expected to tackle, above all, problems of the family and women's rights.

Karbainov Interviewed on Former KGB Activities

PM0912111591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Dec 91 Union Edition p 3

[Interview with General A. Karbainov, chief of the Interrepublic Security Service Public Relations Center, by I. Andreyev; place and date not given: "General Aleksandr Karbainov: Cepaitis Was Never KGB Agent"]

[Text] [Andreyev] The scandal over the well known Lithuanian politician V. Cepaitis which has caused a sharp polarization of the public there (IZVESTIYA Nos. 282, 285) is seemingly the first in a series of exposes which will, in my view, inevitably rock not only the Baltic states but also many of the former USSR's sovereign republics. Therefore, having asked General A. Karbainov, chief of the Interrepublic Security Service [ISS] (successor to the USSR KGB) Public Relations Center, my first question—"Is it true that Cepaitis is a KGB agent?"—I enquired about something else of no less importance: "What is the origin of the documents published by the Lithuanian press? Was not the compromising material against the eminent political figure planted by the Lubyanka? Does the scandal that has broken out in Lithuania not signify an attempt by the center to switch from coarse, forceful methods of pressuring republics to sophisticated, political means?"

[Karbainov] "Let us take them in order," Aleksandr Nikolayevich suggested. "First about Cepaitis. He has never belonged to the KGB agent network. I say this with such conviction because a commission led by M. Dedyukhin, deputy chief of a USSR KGB directorate, has been engaged in checking the Lithuanian press accusations in the republic. No, of course it did not travel to Vilnius in order to confirm or deny what has been published. The main task of the commission in Lithuania (and of similar commissions in Latvia and Estonia) is to eliminate the KGB organs in the Baltic countries. Dedyukhin's team studied Cepaitis in passing,

as it were. And it established that there is no documentary corroboration of his cooperation with the KGB."

[Andreyev] But, in the light of this conclusion, how do the justifications of Cepaitis himself at the deputies' Commission for Investigating KGB Activities look? He had said: "I did not feel that I was collaborating. I took it to be intellectual [intelligentnyy] enquiries..."

[Karbainov] They could have been checkup interviews with staff of the then KGB who were keeping tabs on the same Cepaitis' dissident activities. Records were kept of these, but not for any length of time, as they would have been in the case of particular citizens committed to collaborating with the KGB or becoming agents.

[Andreyev] We have come to the second question about the origin of the documents compromising Cepaitis. It is not hard to imagine the former KGB's publishing without a second thought genuine information about an objectionable politician's contacts with the KGB, or high-quality "disinformation"...

[Karbainov] Yes, that happened. But it was in the past, when the KGB was the mainstay of the nomenklatura elite. When it was a tool of the totalitarian system, for whose preservation and strengthening all means were good means. Today, when the KGB is undergoing profound reforms, these methods of political action are excluded.

[Andreyev] Many eminent politicians in the sovereign republics previously occupied fairly important posts in the party and administrative hierarchy. Is there information in the USSR KGB on their cooperation with the KGB?

[Karbainov] No, we were strictly forbidden to "run" or recruit such figures as far back as the time of Khrushchev's thaw in the mid-fifties through early sixties. But even if we had such information, you know the current KGB leadership's attitude to publishing information about citizens' cooperation with itself. The experience of exposes in former socialist countries which have stoked the fires in an already agitated society is an eloquent warning against such steps.

[Andreyev] You mentioned the KGB organs that are being eliminated in the Baltic states. Major reforms are taking place in the former Union republics' KGB's. And the sovereignization of these services is in progress. Is it possible for them to cooperate with the center and the ISS, which you represent?

[Karbainov] The passions associated with the former KGB's activities, I am convinced, will subside. And life itself will force the security organs to collaborate. Because espionage, including industrial espionage, drug smuggling, and attempts to export items of national property still remain. Criminals operate in an interregional and even an international area, and therefore it is essential to coordinate the efforts of republics' and countries' intelligence services.

[Andreyev] And what does that mean? Coordination has already gone so far that a U.S. CIA mission has appeared in the USSR KGB—this information has flashed across the television...

[Karbainov] That is misrepresentation. Although our department is certainly forging official contacts with the U.S. CIA and FBI. At any rate, about three weeks ago an ISS delegation visited the United States. So far it is hard to tell what specific forms our cooperation with the U.S. and other Western intelligence services will take, but it cannot be ruled out that missions will be set up.

While we are on the subject of misrepresenting information about ISS activity, I cannot fail to mention another curious report in a central newspaper. The sensation looked like this: A document about our department's new structure was stolen from Bakatin's desk. Allegedly a very secret document. Of course, there was no theft, but Vadim Viktorovich himself produced the paper at a news conference with your colleagues.

[Andreyev] May I ask you about another press report—this time in the U.S. NEWSWEEK magazine. A few days ago 55-year-old engineer W. Clayton, a man well acquainted with the top secret electronic equipment of the U.S. Embassy on the Sadovoye Koltso, disappeared in Moscow. He had been dismissed and was due to leave the USSR before 9 December, but he disappeared, having tried before this to ascertain what formalities had to be gone through in order to marry a Soviet citizen. What a detective story... Can the ISS throw any light on this incident?

[Karbainov] The ISS Public Relations Center at any rate knows nothing about the engineer's fate.

[Andreyev] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, won't the ISS be affected by the general commercialization of our entire country? Here is a specific situation. The economy is being destatized, entrepreneurs themselves have to preserve their industrial secrets without the state security organs' help, which they had before. But they have no experience. What happens when some owner of a patent for some unique frying pan pleads with you for help.

[Karbainov] You are right, it is not our job to protect industrial secrets of that sort. Most likely we will help the frying pan king to keep his technological secret quiet. Methodologically, so to speak, with advice. And you know, it is not ruled out that we could enter into commercial relations with him.

[Andreyev] But supposing state X's intelligence service requested your colleagues to monitor the transit of drugs across our country. You carry out an operation in X's interests and incur fairly large currency expenses. In this case will the ISS send a dollar account to its partner?

[Karbainov] I am sure it will not, because cooperation among the world's intelligence services is directed against evil in any of its forms. And if someone has a

success in the fight against narcotics distribution, that is a common victory which excludes such mutual settlements.

Foreign Debt Payments Chairman To Be Elected

LD0612174491 Moscow TASS in English 1341 GMT 6 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—The Interstate Council on Foreign Debt Payments failed to elect its chairman on Thursday [5 December] because it lacked a quorum, Anatoliy Nosko, deputy head of the Soviet Bank for Foreign Trade, told heads of sovereign republics, meeting in Moscow today.

The chairman is expected to be elected on Monday, December 9, he added.

The Interstate Council on Foreign Debt Payments was created on December 4 by a joint republican decision.

The council, which comprises plenipotentiary republican representatives, is the highest ruling body of the Soviet Vneshekonombank [Soviet Bank for Foreign Trade] and reports on its activity to the Council of Republican Prime Ministers. The number of votes for each republic depends on its share of liability for foreign debt payments. 75 per cent of votes is needed for the council to adopt decisions.

Union Council for Religious Affairs Abolished

PM0912154791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Report from RIA-TASS roundup under the general heading "In Brief"]

[Text] The USSR Cabinet of Ministers Council for Religious Affairs ended its existence as of 1 December when the organization's financing was discontinued.

TASS Carries PRAVDA Review for 9 Dec

LD0912073391 Moscow TASS in English 0435 GMT 9 Dec 91

["PRAVDA Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 9 TASS—Today's PRAVDA highlights a report by the newspaper's own correspondents on a meeting of the leaders of Russia, Belarus and Ukraine at Belovezhskaya Pushcha on talks in Minsk between President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation and Stanislav Shushkevich, parliament speaker of the Republic of Belarus, and the signing of a number of documents by them.

"The main political document of the bilateral meeting—a communique on the results of talks between the official delegations of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation—should be regarded as an attempt to preclude disintegration processes," PRAVDA sums up.

The destiny of the country's statehood in the light of the continuing disintegration process and a quest for ways out of the socio-economic crisis are discussed in PRAVDA by Professor Viktor Trushkov.

"A conclusion still crystallises from an agglomerate of contradictory trends and facts. The Second Russian Revolution will not possibly be interrupted if it does not fail to meet at least two conditions. Firstly, if it succeeds in urgently stopping the process of the absolute impoverishment of the working people, the process which is developing at an unprecedentedly accelerating pace.

"Secondly, if it ensures to the maximum the operation of the entire spectrum of traditional bourgeois democracy, without exceptions and without any restrictions," Trushkov believes.

Reporting the third congress of the Democratic Party of Russia, held in Moscow on December 7-8, PRAVDA points out that a report by party Chairman Nikolay Travkin and remarks by delegates and guests of the congress "manifest concern for the loss of statehood, for the Soviet Union's break-up which may prove ruinous to Russia as well". "The indivisibility of Russia is an axiom to us," the newspaper quotes Travkin as saying.

"It seems that Russian trade unions are concerned in earnest over the current soaring prices and disregard for the rights of the working people," PRAVDA writes, maintaining that the editorial board learned about an address by a number of Russia's sectoral trade unions to the Russian leadership.

According to the newspaper, one of the protest petitions concerns the state insurance issue and another one new prices "which are being arbitrarily introduced everywhere".

"Manfred Woerner: We Enter An Era of Partnership" is the headline under which PRAVDA carries an interview with NATO secretary-general in Brussels. He advocates the building of "a new, integrated and free Europe with the participation of the Soviet Union or those who will become its successor".

Woerner categorically opposes the proliferation of nuclear weapons to individual republics and emphasises the need to keep the command of the Union's nuclear forces under a single authority.

In its international news section, PRAVDA carries reports from Yugoslavia, and informs readers of "revolts of the hungry" in Albania, the situation in the Middle East and a flare-up of violence in the South African province of Natal.

Press Review for 10 Dec

LD1012073991 Moscow TASS in English 0627 GMT 10 Dec 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 10 TASS—The Moscow-based newspapers today highlight the report on the signing of an agreement by the leaders of the Republic of Belarus, the Russian Federation and Ukraine on the establishment of a commonwealth of independent states.

The consequences of the event will possibly stretch for decades ahead, writes PRAVDA.

"The outcome of their meeting proved unexpected to many and tantamount to a shock," PRAVDA writes. "Will the 'union of the three' be able to become the core of a new commonwealth structure or, on the contrary, it would become a catalyst to accelerate a further ungovernable disintegration of the country? Can it happen that the unification of the Slavic republics would serve as an impetus to pushing away Kazakhstan, Central Asian republics-states, the Caucasus and Moldova?"

"Apparently, the Minsk communique, on the one hand, completes the process of the Soviet Union's break-up which has been dreaded by the whole world and ourselves and puts an end to the state of uncertainty in our life and, on the other hand, opens the way for new, most probably difficult but constructive talks on economic and political relations both inside the core of the new commonwealth and those states which would wish (would have to?) to join it," ROSSISKAYA GAZETA points out.

"The establishment of a commonwealth of independent states now seems to be the most logical political step: the economically inter- dependent republics should not quarrel in the period of their quest for their own place in the world but have got to resolve problems amicably," NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT GAZETTE) writes.

"But an initiative to create a new commonwealth without the centre's mediation and participation has already been once softpedalled by Gorbachev, who had at that time much more energies and illusions. Will the president of the USSR succeed in fundamentally changing the course of events this time?", the newspaper queries.

"We are trying to take control of the ungovernable break-up of the Soviet Union," the INDEPENDENT GAZETTE quotes Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk as saying.

"But we should not be blamed for breaking up the Union. It took the path towards disintegration in 1985, and the architects of this destructive process are known. As for us, we have combined the efforts of the three great states with a view to seeing to it that enterprises continue to operate and the position of people does not finally deteriorate", Kravchuk told the newspaper.

"Has the political situation in the country become calmer after the Minsk meeting?" the TRUD newspaper queries. "The editorial office received telephone calls throughout Monday [9 December], including those from people's deputies, demanding the convocation of a Union congress."

The convocation of such a congress, which has been also advocated by President Gorbachev "would signify the end of the 'agreement of the three'", KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA maintains.

"However, analysing the congress resources one can doubt that it will be able to muster the necessary quorum. Sovereign Ukraine is almost certain to recall its deputies. It is not ruled out that the same will be done by Russia and Belorussia", the newspaper observes.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries a report about a meeting which is to be held in Moscow on Tuesday [10 December]. The holding of such a meeting has been arranged by the Democratic Party of Russia (DPR).

The DPR's address to those who will attend the meeting reads: "Fifty years ago we saved our country by scoring a great victory near Moscow. What the people saved in 1941 is nowadays falling to pieces because of politicians' irresponsibility and petty love of power".

The newspaper carries an article by Russia's People's Deputy Vladimir Isakov who predicts an impeding soaring of prices as a result of their liberalisation under conditions of a new taxation system. "Fasten your belts. A take-off may prove very steep," Isakov writes.

PRAVDA runs a large column of materials under a general headline: "The Decision to Ban the Soviet Communist Party is a Breach of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms."

The INDEPENDENT GAZETTE runs an interview with Aleksandr Bovin, Soviet ambassador to Israel.

Press Review for 11 Dec

LD1112084191 Moscow TASS in English 0809 GMT 11 Dec 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 11 TASS—The agreement on the creation of the community of independent states, signed by the Belarussian, Russian and Ukrainian leaders in Minsk on December 8, is in the focus of attention of all newspapers today. RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and other newspapers carry Mikhail Gorbachev's statement concerning the agreement. Commenting on this statement, PRAVDA stresses Gorbachev's words that "each republic has the right to withdraw from the union, but the future of the multinational state cannot be decided by the leaders of

three republics. This problem should be resolved only by constitutional means with the participation of all sovereign states and with due account for the will of their peoples." The president did not rule out the holding of a nationwide referendum on this problem. "There is nothing to argue about on this point. It is the people themselves who should decide the destiny of the country and its statehood," PRAVDA stresses.

"Do we need a Union?" asks SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in an article dealing with the reaction in Soviet society to the Minsk agreements. The newspaper writes, among other things, about the response of the leadership of inter-republican trade unions of basic industries, who expressed apprehension and concern over the breakdown of the initialling of the draft union treaty. They adopted a joint appeal to presidents and parliaments of the sovereign states—former republics of the Soviet Union.

Responding to the question if the step taken by the three leaders in Minsk resembles a coup, Russian Deputy Prime Minister Gennadiy Burbulis said at a press conference that "it is not a coup. It is a process." PRAVDA highlights his words about the Soviet president. Burbulis said that "Gorbachev has profound experience and is an irreplaceable person, in a way. He can find a place for himself in our reforms". NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA used these words as the headline for its commentary on this subject. The question arises whether or not large-scale political manoeuvering around the treaty on the commonwealth of Ukraine, Russia and Belarussia will develop into a large-scale political war. Answering this question, Vitaliy Portnikov writes in his article that "Gorbachev is not going to surrender. He is ready to appeal to the Congress of People's Deputies or to all citizens of the Soviet Union."

PRAVDA quotes the words of one of the founders of the new commonwealth, chairman of the Belarussian parliament Stanislav Shushkevich, who said at a press conference in Minsk that "the disintegration of the country may lead to the developments similar to those taking place in Yugoslavia. But we favour another way, namely commonwealth, and regard it as a guarantee of peace."

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries a report of its correspondent from a press conference on the creation of the new commonwealth. The report is entitled "Diagnosis at the Ruins." "It is an open question what and to whom we should diagnose at the ruins of the state which quite recently was regarded as one of the most powerful in the world," the newspaper writes.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes in its commentary: "The main result of the meeting of the leaders of the three Slavonic republics is that two more former republics steered strictly to the West, in other words, towards Europe." They received assurances from the former "big brother" that "Russia will not become another Serbia, while Ukraine and Belarussia will not become Croatia and Slovenia." So far as Russia is concerned, its situation is rather ambiguous, the newspaper stresses. It reports that the Ukrainian and Belarussian parliaments supported the new commonwealth. The rest remains unclear."

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries an interview with USSR people's deputies Vladimir Voblikov and Viktor Alksnis, members of the initiatve group demanding the convocation of an emergency congress of people's deputies. They maintain that "three persons cannot make decisions on behalf of the republics and nations integrated in this state... They had no right to announce on behalf of the peoples that the Soviet Union does not exist any longer de-jure."

"The future of our science depends on the future of our country," said President Gorbachev, responding to questions of scientists from all continents—initiators of the World Media project. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries his interview today. The president is sure that no matter what will be the statehood of the community of nations formed historically within the boundaries of the Soviet Union, the country will continue to be a great power, including in the sphere of science.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA carries an interview with Vyacheslav Klein and Arkadiy Chereshnya, both Masters of Sciences (History), which deals with the following problems: How should we carry out the transition to a new type of society with minimal losses for the people? What way to it—instant or gradual—should be chosen? On the basis of a broad historic analysis of our society, the scientists have come to the conclusion that "economically and psychologically the population is not prepared well enough for the transition to a new type of society." This is why, they believe, a soft version of the reform is necessary, with a gradual and reasonable replacement of every stage with the next one.

Aleksandr Vladislavlev, USSR first deputy minister of external relations, sets forth in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA his concept of foreign economic activities. He believes the republics will soon realise the need for creating a new economic community, of the centre of a new type which will be based not on compulsion, but on compromise and the coordination of interests. "Our task is to destroy monopoly and to turn the apparatus from a master into a servant of entrepreneurs," he said.

Economic

Food Shortage Report: 'They Come To Steal'

LD0712052791 Moscow TASS in English 1021 GMT 6 Dec 91

[By TASS writer Alexey Filatov]

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—Food shortages all over the country force hungry city residents to abandon their empty shops to look for food in the countryside.

But they do not come to buy, they come to steal. One hundred and sixty thousand sheep have recently disappeared from collective farms around the Kazakh city of Naryn. Twenty five cows, 44 horses and 15 calves were stolen from collective farms in the Krasnodar region in the south of Russia. Police all over the country have stopped many private cars and trucks carrying stolen milk and butter, grain and flour, and produce.

Authorities say they cannot cope with the rise in theft. Police units in the Krasnodar region, who were unable to protect state and private farmers' property, were replaced by riot police units.

Rural thieves are trying to catch up with their city colleagues by "stealing" land. High-ranking countryside officials use their position to get the best fields, while ordinary farmers cannot get any land at all. But those who do succeed in going through the system to receive land will have to be wary of a possible attack from collective farm authorities.

Erich Liske, a private farmer from the north Russian city of Pskov, is suing the nearby collective farm for robbery. One morning he found out that all locks on his farm were broken, and 140 calves and all farming vehicles stolen.

The collective farm authorities admit their blame, claiming they could not accept that a nearby private farmer, called "kulak" in Russia, could produce more than they did. And since they learned in school that the property of all kulaks was expropriated under the Bolshevik rule and the farmers were exiled to Siberia, they acted accordingly.

But times have changed. The first reports from various parts of the country say courts are now ruling that the collective robbers must repay all damages to private farmers.

Impact of Privatization on Meat Supplies Viewed

PM0912142691 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 91 p 1

[Report by Ye. Grigoryev: "A Piece of Meat: Will the Customer Find It in the Privately Run Store?"]

[Text] Yes, meat, that desirable and necessary food product, is becoming increasingly unavailable to us. On top of the all-out shortages there are all-out prices too. And the future is even more worrying and uncertain.

In the first 10 months of the year livestock and poultry purchases in the country totaled only 14.7 million tonnes—which is 2.1 million tonnes, or 12 percent, less than in the same period last year. Depressing results, to be frank. But anything else was hardly to be expected—they have yet to discover how to synthesize meat out of thin air. You need some animals and some feed, as a minimum. And both these things are currently disappearing at high speed.

In the first nine months of the year alone, the number of cattle and hogs on the country's kolkhozes and sovkhozes fell by 4 million and 5 million respectively. Forage stocks are so meager that there can be no question of proper fattening of animals. The impression is created that perestroyka had no room for this important sector. There are few regions in which agro-industrial formations take any notice of it. The mixed feed industry is suffering constant hitches. Acquiring machinery for livestock units and equipment for processing raw materials has become an insoluble problem.

Hitches in deliveries of imported meat products are exacerbating the situation. In the first nine months 720,000 tonnes of these products were brought into the country—39 percent of the volume planned for this year. All this is creating considerable strain with meat supplies. And unfortunately this is apparently unlikely to be eliminated quickly, since no changes in the negative trend are expected in meat production before the end of the year. Livestock units will see a shortfall of nearly 2 million tonnes of output compared with last year. The consequences of this economic management situation are deplorable. In the light of the developing situation with resources, per capita meat consumption will be only 61 kg—six kg less than a year ago.

That is the disturbing reality today. Can we expect the situation to improve? Alas, specialists will not predict a bright future. They believe that next year meat production will at best remain at this year's level.

Another factor is becoming interwoven with the existing situation—the destatization of trade and the liberalization of prices. It has been decided not to "release" milk prices. The state is to some extent taking procurement of this product under its own financial protection. To this end it will apparently increase subsidies from the state budget.

But what about meat? Free prices are being established for meat. Furthermore, the stores are being privatized. In this situation how can cities, particularly big cities, be supplied with meat? Because no one intends to deal with this on a centralized basis in future. We will need direct links, new, market relations between privately run stores and suppliers, meat combines, and ultimately customers. There will clearly be a need to set up associations, concerns, and other amalgamations including both trading enterprises and producers. And what will take the place of state wholesale trade? Without this it is difficult to determine demand and supply, acquire meat from the producers and on the commodity exchanges, and supply it to the stores. Who will promote the development of new relations and how, or will everything be allowed to take its own course, will we put everything in the hands of the black market? The result would surely be an even bigger shortage of meat, instead of the promised market abundance—after all, the trade mafiosi are past masters at creating shortages. In short, there are more questions than answers. But one thing is

clear—the consumer needs guarantees, confidence that he will not be left without a piece of meat today or tomorrow.

Economist Shmelev Views 'Decisive' Coming Year

LD1112081191 Moscow TASS in English 1807 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow December 10 TASS—"Now, as before, there is no other way out but through freeing prices. Otherwise we shall never return to a balance of goods and prices on the market," Soviet people's deputy economist Nikolay Shmelev said in an interview with the PRAVITELSTVENNY VESTNIK newspaper today.

Shmelev says prices are bound to soar after they are freed but then they will "hit the invisible ceiling and begin to fall" because there is a limit to the buying capacity of both the individual and the enterprise.

This was what happened in the summer of 1923 after the new economic policy (NEP) was introduced and prices were set free. The monopolists sent prices soaring, but it lasted only a few months, after which prices tumbled. "We shall see the same happen, but not at once," Shmelev said.

The economist said he approved of the Russian leadership's decision to lift restrictions on wages and promise to index incomes of those who get fixed salaries, pensions and the like, but was worried by plans to perform the operation "without any anaesthetic, even if artificial". Such anaesthetic, he said, could include an artificial commodity intervention—"sell what you will, borrow if need be, but fill shop shelves with goods. Otherwise you risk a social explosion".

The new authorities' integrity is also most important: now that we have embarked on the road of a temporary worsening of life, we must by no means allow even the smallest robbery of people.

As regards the on-set of unemployment, Shmelev stressed that in these circumstances a single economic space becomes unavoidable—people will demand it, if they see a job opening in Siberia while residing in the country's south.

Asked about links between price liberalisation on the one hand and privatisation and demonopolisation on the other, Shmelev replied "we should not leave the road of privitisation, on which we are embarking, under any power: be it in the hands of super-democrats or a super-dictator".

What is in store for us? Shmelev is the man to answer this question—many of his earlier forecasts have come true. This time his reply was: "Alas, our life depends less on economic arguments than on political, it depends on absolutely undefinable factors... In principle, I don't think we have long to wait as the coming year will be decisive. I continue to believe in man's common sense, his good sense".

Agriculture

Latest Weather, Crops Data Reported

PM0612150391 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 6 Dec 91 p 2

[Report by agrometeorologist N. Mikheyev: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] Warm weather persisted over most of the country's European territory. The air temperature over the 10-day period was 3-7 degrees above the perennial mean. The soil in fields sown to winter crops virtually everywhere has thawed and there is no snow cover. Winter crops' winter-hardiness remains reduced. It was only in the east of the northern region, in the Urals region, the northeastern and southern Volga-Vyatka and northern Volga Valley region that winter crops were under a covering of snow (3-15 cm or more). The minimum soil temperature at grain crop tillering node depth held steady at 0 to minus 2 degrees. Conditions for the start of over-wintering were satisfactory here.

The minimum soil temperature at winter crop tillering node depth was close to 0 degrees throughout the rest of the northern region and in the central and northern central Chernozem regions where the soil has thawed, but winter grain crops have not begun to produce vegetation. Plants continued their intensive consumption of nutrients for respiration.

Poor vegetation was recorded by winter grain crops in the Baltic, Belarus, and the northwest region, as well as in the southern central Chernozem region and the northern Ukraine on some days when the air temperature was 5-9 degrees. Plants here were mainly at the tillering phase.

For most of the 10-day period winter grain crops grew in the southern Ukraine, in Moldova, over most of the North Caucasus region, and in the Lower Volga Valley. The top soil contained predominantly 25-30 mm of productive moisture. Plants were mainly at the tillering stage. Top soil moisture content remained inadequate in some parts of Odessa, Kherson, Rostov, and Astrakhan Oblasts, Stavropol Kray, and the republics of the Northern Caucasus; winter crops in some fields here were at the stage of producing shoots and the third leaf.

Winter grain crops in crop farming areas of Western Siberia are in a state of winter dormancy under a covering of snow fluctuating between 7-20 cm in depth. Minimum soil temperature at tillering node depth remained steady at primarily between minus 5 and minus 8 degrees and in western Altay Kray between minus 10 and minus 12 degrees. Over-wintering is going well. It was only in northeastern Novosibirsk Oblast that the soil temperature at winter crop tillering node depth dropped and ranged between minus 16 and minus 18, which is dangerous for poorly developed rye crops.

Winter grain crops in the Transcaucasian republics grew throughout most of the 10-day period. Their supply of moisture was adequate for the most part.

Grain crops continued growth in the Central Asian republics and southern Kazakhstan. The weather turned cold at the end of the 10-day period. Rain fell over most of the area and moisture supplies in the upper soil layer were replenished as a result. Conditions for the appearance of shoots on dry-farming land have somewhat improved.

Military

Army Leaders Discuss Developments With Yeltsin

LD1112100691 Moscow TASS in English 0749 GMT 11 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow December 11 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin met senior Defense Ministry officials and commanders of military districts located on the Russian territory, in Moscow early today.

Yeltsin delivered a major speech.

Representatives of the mass media were not present at the meeting.

'Mutual Understanding'

LD1112112391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Text] The meeting between President Boris Yeltsin of Russia and the top commanders of the Soviet Army this morning passed off in an atmosphere of mutual understanding. Russian Vice President Yegor Gaydar told journalists this, citing the president's words. He also quoted Yeltsin's words to the effect that at his meeting with the military there was general understanding of the fact that the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States is a way out of the impasse. Boris Yeltsin's meeting with the military, which was initially planned to be held in the Russian Parliament building, was transferred—at the insistence of the military, it is presumed—to the Defense Ministry. Neither Soviet nor foreign journalists were allowed in the Ministry.

'Supported by Shaposhnikov'

AU1112113191 Paris AFP in English 1113 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Excerpts] Moscow, Dec 10 (AFP)—Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov supported proposals put forward Wednesday [11 December] by Russian President Boris Yeltsin on the future of the country, the independent news agency INTERFAX reported. The report said the talks between Yeltsin, Shaposhnikov and other senior military commanders took place in an "atmosphere of mutual understanding".

Yeltsin said that the Minsk accord signed Sunday [8 December] by himself and the leaders of Ukraine and Belarus on the creation of a new Commonwealth of Independent States was "the only way to lead the country out of impasse".

"His proposals were supported by Shaposhnikov," INTERFAX said, adding that Yeltsin had spoken of "prospects for resolving military problems", but giving no further details.[passage omitted]

'Very Satisfied' With Talks

LD1112123591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1130 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Interview with President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin at question and answer session with journalists in Moscow on 11 December after meeting at the Defense Ministry—recorded]

[Text] [Yeltsin, in progress] ...to talk about the results. As I have been informed, they are very satisfied with the results of this conversation, this meeting. There were very many questions which I answered. The meeting lasted for an hour and 45 minutes.

[Unidentified correspondent] What is the mood of the Army?

[Yeltsin] You know, after my decree was signed on raising the so-called money allowance 1.9-fold as of 1 January—that is almost two-fold—they said it is currently becoming somewhat more stable. There is one more thing to be done at present: to help them with housing. I think that we have such a possibility, and we will do this. Then we also defined the prospects with regard to housing. For example, we have transferred the Glavspetsstroy [Main Administration for Special Construction] organization, which was to be disbanded, to the RSFSR's jurisdiction. We would like to direct the efforts of this major organization in the course of 1992-93, though we have yet to discuss this preliminary plan—for building houses for servicemen.

Forces Remain 'Under Single Command'

LD1112125791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1215 GMT 11 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Dec (TASS)—"There can be no question of dividing the Armed Forces. The international public can rest assured." These words, spoken today by RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin at a meeting with the top military leadership of the country, could be called key ones, your TASS correspondent was told by Lieutenant-General Valeriy Manilov, head of the Defense Ministry Information Department. Command over the Armed Forces, and control over its individual components, including strategic components, has been and remains under single command.

As Valeriy Manilov stressed: "The meeting was held in a collegial and very constructive atmosphere." The Russian president answered practically all the questions which worry the Army today, including those connected with forming the military budget. At the present moment, balanced and well-measured approaches toward a solution of this problem are being sought, and Russia is prepared to make an adequate contribution toward financing the defense programs. Also, it is very important, said the Information Department head, that many pronouncements and obligations made today are close to or completely coincide with what was said at yesterday's meeting at the Defense Ministry in which USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev took part. Despite certain nuances in the positions of the two leaders, their views coincide on the main thing: the unity of the Armed Forces, their stability and noninvolvement in politics, are the most important guarantees of national security for all the states within the USSR, whatever the content of the agreements and unions they intend to conclude might be.

Gorbachev Meets Shaposhnikov, Military Leaders

LD1012202691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2003 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] According to an AFP report, Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the disintegrated USSR, met in Moscow today behind closed doors with representatives of ranking personnel of the country's Armed Forces.

According to an official spokesperson of the Ministry of Defense, it was attended by the head of the military department, Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov. Questions relating to the current tense situation were discussed.

AFP stresses that the meeting was held against a background of rumors about Gorbachev's possible resignation. Meanwhile, the press center of the Union Ministry of Defense has reported that the military commanders arriving in Moscow is nothing other than planned gatherings of ranking personnel of the Armed Forces.

Taking part are members of the central administrative apparatus of the Ministry of Defense; and leaders of the services of the Armed Forces, military districts, and groups of troops and fleets.

Meanwhile, it has been announced that a meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and the commanders of the military districts and divisions is planned for tomorrow morning.

That was a report from AFP.

Army Will Serve Person 'Who Maintains It'

PM1012184191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Dec 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by Nikolay Andreyev: "Whom Will the Army Follow?"]

[Text] The (former) USSR Defense Ministry leadership's attitude was expressed by one of its staffers as follows: He who pays the piper calls the tune. The meaning is simple: The Army will serve the person who maintains it. The central government or, more accurately, what is left of it, and the country's president are in very strained financial circumstances and it is hopeless to expect money from that quarter. At the same time Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine bear the bulk of the burden of the military budget and they are also the main suppliers of arms. But one must remember that the Armed Forces swore an oath to the USSR president.

The Defense Ministry's stance is also influenced by the fact that, according to the agreement on the community signed by the three leaders, it has been decided to retain unified command of the common military-strategic space and unified control over nuclear weapons. G. Burbulis said at a press conference that the USSR president and the Defense Council have control over nuclear weapons, while Defense Minister Ye. Shaposhnikov exercises military-technical control, therefore, in the opinion of Russia's state secretary, there is confidence that continuity will be ensured in this sphere and there is no danger of nuclear weapons proliferation. Let us point out for accuracy's sake. The Defense Council does not exist today, its functions have devolved upon the State Council.

Nevertheless, the Defense Ministry leadership has not voiced its attitude to events and is clearly adopting a wait-and-see stance. As far as we know, the Defense Ministry Collegium has not met although a narrow group of its leaders have discussed the prevailing situation. It has been decided not to make abrupt movements or issue statements.

M. Gorbachev was expected at the Defense Ministry 9 December, but failed to show up. He is supposed to meet with the Defense Ministry leadership 10 December. A large conference involving the commanders of districts and companies of forces has long been scheduled for that day and M. Gorbachev is expected to attend and address it.

Lawyers at the Defense Ministry's Treaty and Law Directorate have not reached a unanimous opinion about the legal basis of the agreement adopted on creating the community. Lawyers have voiced varying, sometimes diametrically opposed, opinions as to whether this should be considered a coup d'etat or a logical step in the transformations within the former Union's state system.

Maksimov Asserts Central Claim to Missiles

PM1012234191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Dec 91 Union Edition p 7

[Interview with Army General Yu. Maksimov, commander in chief of Strategic Deterrence Forces by V. Litovkin; place and date not given: "Army General Yu. Maksimov: 'Our Nuclear Weapons Are Under USSR Presidential Control'"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] IZVESTIYA has already announced (No. 275) that a new branch of the Armed Forces—the Strategic Deterrence Forces—has been set up in our country by USSR presidential decree. Army General Yu. Maksimov has been appointed its commander in chief. Our military correspondent talks to him.

[Litovkin] Yuriy Pavlovich, following the agreements reached in the Belovezhskaya Forest, who is the proprietor of the nuclear weapons, you or the leaders of the three independent republics?

[Maksimov] Both before and after the Belovezhskaya Forest, to use your expression, the USSR president and the State Council are their proprietors... And we are responsible for the high degree of the Strategic Deterrence Forces' combat readiness. As for tactical nuclear weapons, they too will remain under USSR presidential control although they are under the jurisdiction of the Ground Forces, aviation, the fleet, and the Air Defense Forces...

[Litovkin] Why are the Strategic Deterrence Forces necessary? What will they constitute?

[Maksimov] Their aim is to ensure military-strategic stability and strategic parity. The new branch of the Armed Forces has been formed based on the Strategic Rocket Forces and ballistic missile early-warning, space surveillance, and missile-space defense systems, as well as the space hardware chief's directorate. Forces and systems from the Air Defense Forces will also be included.

Air and sea strategic nuclear forces will also be under their operational jurisdiction. But the final composition and organizational-staff structure of the Strategic Deterrence Forces are still to be clarified...

[Litovkin] What will the creation of the Strategic Deterrence Forces bring?

[Maksimov] Concentrating all strategic nuclear forces in one set of hands will help unite their systems of command and control and combat use, formulate unified technical policy and a system of staffing and cadre training, preclude unnecessary duplication, and thus, save a considerable amount of money.

[Litovkin] Another point to clarify: When listing the components of the Strategic Deterrence Forces, you said nothing about arsenals, nuclear weapons storage bases, plants where missiles are assembled and testing ranges...

[Maksimov] Without doubt, everything that is part of the Strategic Missile Forces, as well as the other defensive systems that I have cited, will be part of the Strategic Deterrence Forces.

[Litovkin] How does the creation of a new branch of the Armed Forces fit in with the Treaty on Strategic Offensive Arms Reduction and Limitation and G. Bush's and M. Gorbachev's disarmament initiatives? What is your opinion of them from the military viewpoint?

[Maksimov] I think that the formation of our troops is fully in line with the Strategic Offensive Arms Treaty. I have already said that the intention is to cut appropriations, parallel, structures that duplicate one another, and, thus, arms—all this, I repeat, comes within the treaty that has been signed and is designed to fit in with the stages for its implementation.

As for a military-strategic assessment of the two presidents' initiatives, I can say one thing about them: The drastic reduction in nuclear confrontation is in itself a positive thing. We are, for instance, taking off combat alert 503 intercontinental ballistic missiles. That represents 1,094 warheads. We are resolving a whole series of other issues. We are withdrawing from our force composition the RS-10, RS-12, and RS-16 ICBM's currently deployed. The West classifies them as the SS-11, SS-13, and SS-17.

Our bombers will not be on combat alert duty with nuclear weapons on board. U.S. strategic bombers are also being taken off combat alert and "Minutemen-2 missiles will no longer be on combat alert..." I think that all this will strengthen military-strategic stability in the world.

[Litovkin] Some experts reckon that the U.S. side's individual initiatives are putting us in a disadvantageous position. They intend to reduce their oldest missiles, while saying nothing about sea-launched nuclear forces and trying at the same time to deprive us of very powerful modern weapons like mobile intercontinental missiles and remove their mobility capability. How do you view these suggestions?

[Maksimov] Our talks with the Americans are always made difficult because the structures of our strategic nuclear forces are different. It is very hard for both sides to find a balance of interests. What is more, the various proposals and initiatives do not yet represent a final solution; they have given no one the edge. But they suit us as a basis for negotiations. Because negotiations always represent a quest for mutually acceptable compromises.

The Strategic Offensive Arms Treaty does not apply to our mobile "off-road" complexes. And the suggestion that Soviet mobile railroad complexes will operate in permanent basing areas is our initiative. We think that, in view of the general strategic stability in the world and the situation today, we can take that step without damaging the country's security.

Naturally, this is not a definitive decision. If the international situation improves, we will agree to new initiatives.

[Litovkin] Will they require corresponding steps from the United States?

[Maksimov] I think that both sides have already taken corresponding steps, apart from the fact that our decision to cut warheads from 6,000 to 5,000 goes further than the U.S. proposals. But that is their question: What is to be done in that case?

[Litovkin] But the Strategic Offensive Arms Treaty has still not been ratified either by us or by the United States.

[Maksimov] It is now in the process of being prepared for ratification by the country's Supreme Soviet and the Congress.

[Litovkin] But won't the collapse of the USSR and the formation in its place of four nuclear powers, in particular such a powerful independent state as the Ukraine, on whose territory the Strategic Rocket Forces are situated, prevent its ratification?

[Maksimov] I don't think that there should be any particular difficulties. The sizeable reduction in strategic arms for which the treaty makes provision is in the interests of both the United States and the USSR, and the whole world.

In my view, the fears that four nuclear powers will emerge are unfounded. There is only one nuclear state—the Soviet Union as a whole or the state system that will be its rightful successor. And as you know—this was also said at the Fifth Congress of People's Deputies and confirmed at a session of the State Council—the strategic nuclear forces will be centralized and under unified control. That is also the case today.

The republics' sovereignty and the referendum on Ukrainian independence, along with the agreement concluded near Brest, do not destroy but preserve this system. Leonid Kravchuk has frequently said that they do not lay claim to strategic weapons. Transferring these weapons to any republic is politically, economically, and legally—much less technically—impossible.

A breach of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty may cause serious international complications. And they serve no purpose for us or the Ukraine. What is more, control of the strategic missile complexes is strictly centralized and it is virtually impossible to take "command" of them from a republic's territory.

The right of every republic to declare itself a nuclear-free zone and strive to secure that status is another matter. We fully respect and understand that right. But realistic deadlines and the procedure for bringing that decision into effect must be decided and coordinated.

[Litovkin] Your troops' auxiliary complexes are today located on the territory of many republics, including the Baltic states. How are your relations developing?

[Maksimov] We have no particular conflicts. All questions that arise are settled in a businesslike way, on the basis of mutual understanding. But legal status for our installations must undoubtedly be formulated and mutually acceptable agreements must be concluded, as is the case in the civilized world. I hope that this will occur in the near future.

[Litovkin] The Missile Troops are liable to cuts under the Strategic Offensive Arms Treaty. Will you coordinate the dates and procedure for this work with the sovereign states where your installations are located?

[Maksimov] The cuts should take place within seven years after the treaty is ratified. Up to one-third of the missiles and almost half of the warheads will be destroyed. The dates and procedure for the work have been envisaged so as not to damage the security of either side. Needless to say, the republics will be informed about this.

Chief of Armed Forces Rear Services Replaced

PM1112115191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Untitled, unattributed report]

[Text] By USSR presidential decree, Colonel General Ivan Vasilyevich Fuzhenko has been appointed USSR deputy defense minister and chief of USSR Armed Forces Rear Services. Army General Vladimir Mikhaylovich Arkhipov has been relieved of this post.

Baltic Affairs

Shevardnadze as Head Negotiator in Question

LD1112120591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, the USSR minister of external relations and head of the negotiation delegation of that country with Lithuania, did not rule out the possibility that he might have to give up his position as head of the negotiating team.

Such a question may arise; however, I, as minister, must coordinate and supervise the negotiations with Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, said Mr. Shevardnadze in an interview to the daily RESPUBLIKA.

The Soviet minister for external relations pointed out that the delegations for negotiations with Lithuania and the other Baltic countries have already been formed and that he saw no serious reasons hampering the start of the talks. Mr. Sheveradnadze also confirmed that the issue of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops had been solved: Troops must be withdrawn, and I do not think that the Lithuanian Government will request that the troops should remain, Eduard Shevardnadze stressed; however, the question remains how long the withdrawal will take. According to the opinion of the minister, this process will be negotiated during the talks.

Accord Signed With European Trade Association

OW1112004891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2032 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A declaration on cooperation between the European Association of Free Trade and the Baltics was signed on December 10 in Geneva. The document sets out the forms of cooperation in the areas of the economy, trade and industry. Proposals with respect to further plans for collaboration are to be presented in the second half of next year.

Estonia's Premier Edgar Savisaar told a BALFAX correspondent that work is currently under way on cooperation agreements with the European Community.

Estonia

Presidium Welcomes Commonwealth Agreement

LD1112112791 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 10 Dec 91

[From the "Paevakaja" program]

[Text] A statement of the Presidium of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council, reported by ETA, was brought to the Paevakaja studio just now. It states as follows:

The Republic of Estonia welcomes the setting up on 8 December of a Commonwealth of Independent States by the heads of state and government leaders of the Republic of Belarus, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and the Ukraine on the basis of an agreement. The Presidium of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council expresses the hope that the founding of a democratic, voluntary, and open community will create preconditions for a deepening international cooperation and trust between Estonia and the states within the community in order to establish relations on the basis of generally recognized norms of equality, good-neighborliness, and international law.

This statement was signed by Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council.

Unfortunately, we did not manage to find out before "Paevakaja" began how Estonia has reacted to Leonid Kravchuk's appeal to join the union.

Leader 'Not Optimistic' About Commonwealth

OW1112005191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2032 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonia's Premier Edgar Savisaar believes that the move of the three Slavic republics to form a Commonwealth is "a tactical, rather than a strategic step precipitated by the fear of the three republics' leaders to lose their influence due to political and economic crises in their republics". In an interview to a BALTFAX correspondent, he stressed that "this move by the three presidents has no future".

"The worsening economic chaos and the political crisis in these republics have eroded the influence of Russian and Ukrainian democratic forces", Mr. Savisaar noted. He pointed out that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev had over the previous month "been reserved and politically inactive, being apparently aware that the factor of time operated in his favour and in favour of preserving the Soviet Union".

Estonia's premier went on record as saying that he "is not very optimistic about the new Commonwealth". "After the danger of pressure from the centre no longer exists, the already existing differences between the Slavic states may come to the forefront". In the view of Mr. Savisaar, Estonia's interests would be better served by "a union of Slavic states formed with genuinely strategic objectives in mind".

Supreme Soviet Chairman on RSFSR Agreement

LD1012141991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0330 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Estonian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruutel described the results of yesterday's meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin as a serious step toward resolving bilateral problems. In a conversation with journalists

after the meeting ended, the head of the Estonian parliament said that while discussing bilateral economic relations, taking into account the complicated economic situation in Russia and Estonia, the sides have agreed to carry out mutual deliveries of goods on a clearing basis at contractual prices for the time being. Participants in the meeting also agreed on the need to provide legal guarantees for the rights of Estonians in Russia and Russians in Estonia. Arnold Ruutel spoke in favor of a correction of the current Russian-Estonian borders. In his words, this issue should be solved at interstate talks, taking into account the views of both sides.

Republic Breaks Off Meeting With Soviets

OW1012221291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1647 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A normal working meeting between Estonian and Soviet delegations to inter-state negotiations was broken off by the Estonian side, a BALTFAX correspondent was told by Vladimir Churov, secretary of the Soviet delegation.

According to Churov, "this goes against the treaty which was signed by the representatives of two delegations at the last meeting, November 10th."

Churov sent information on this issue to the Soviet President and to the Union Ministry of Foreign Relations.

Minister Calls For Aid in Army Withdrawal

PM0912150891 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 91 p 5

[Correspondent Ye. Grigoryev report: "The Main Thing Is To Arm Ourselves"]

[Text] Bonn, 5 Dec—"Estonia was never part of the czarist Russian empire"—that unexpected amendment to history was made by L. Meri, foreign minister of the independent Baltic republic, delivering a report here at the Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

The audience at this social democratic foundation also learned that Estonians see themselves as part of central, not Eastern, Europe. According to the speaker, the Baltic republics' independence is part of a process of "decolonialization" in the region of the former Soviet Union's domination.

However, the minister let it be known that the Estonian leaders' bright expectations have not yet been fulfilled. Meri expressed undisguised disappointment at the way the West has reacted to the Baltic states' independence. Although these republics have been recognized by a great many UN members, the Baltic region, the speaker said, is still perceived in a large part of the world as a "breaker of the rules," because it is raising the question of national interests and "decolonialization."

The minister believes that Moscow does not yet respect Estonia's independence. Soviet Armed Forces are in the republic and will not lay down their arms. Therefore it is not yet possible to arm the Estonian border forces sufficiently to defend Estonia's eastern border, the speaker said, although it is not clear who is actually planning to violate those borders.

Since, in the context of the problem of withdrawing the troops from Estonia, Moscow raises the question of housing for the servicemen in question, the minister naturally raised the question of the need for Western aid. Furthermore, in his view, there should be international monitoring of the Soviet Armed Forces in Estonia, or else UN armed forces should be brought into the republic.

L. Meri was not very optimistic in general. "Communism may be dead, but no one has found the body," he quipped, making it clear that the continent's future is far from guaranteed yet. Unfortunately the report was marked more by its confrontational tone than by any spirit of helping to resolve the complex problems that are on the agenda for talks between Moscow and Tallinn.

Latvia

Gorbunovs Statement on Commonwealth Accord

LD1012221791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1921 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga, 10 Dec (TASS)—A statement by Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, on the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States was circulated here today. The statement says in particular that Latvia has until now been building its relations with Belarus, Russia, the Ukraine, and other republics of the former Union on the principles of bilateral interstate treaties and agreements.

Anatolijs Gorbunovs expressed the hope that during this difficult period the agreement on the Commonwealth of Independent States will help Russia, the Ukraine, and Belarus overcome their internal difficulties and will facilitate

Gorbunovs, State Minister on Talks With Russia

LD0812093891 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0514 GMT 6 Dec 91

[Text] Talks between Russia and Latvia took place yesterday in Moscow. Supreme Council Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs and Minister of State Janis Dinevics returned to Riga before midnight. At the airport a brief news conference was held:

[Begin recording] [Gorbunovs] The welcome given us corresponded to the relevant protocol on interstate relations. In this respect, no comment is specially necessary.

This is how it was: For the first time we were received in an appropriate manner in the capital of Russia [words indistinct].

Concerning the documents signed, the main document was signed by Mr. Godmanis. The sequence was the other way around. We first signed our communique with Mr. Yeltsin. Then the principles of trade and economic cooperation were signed. This is very essential. To my mind, this is the first agreement of this kind. It essentially lays the foundation for next year's economic cooperation and trade with Russia.

Briefly, I can say that the following principle has been laid down: Our trade and commodity exchange will be conducted at agreed prices, but mainly at world market prices. Further, our trade volume will be coordinated. The practical positions have already been ascertained for this trade volume. There will be most favored nation treatment on both sides for these commodities. Almost no customs duties will exist for these commodities on both sides.

Other matters are also regulated. For example, if for either side a negative balance arises, this will have to be covered in convertible currency or commodities will have to be supplied that the other side regards as acceptable in order to cover this minus.

Unfortunately, it must be said that for the time being the calculations are such that Latvia has a negative balance for the next year. There are various ways to counter this. Our services and commodities that we will sell to Russia must be very detailed and thoroughly calculated, because this trade will be conducted and there will not be distribution and redistribution. It cannot be excluded that we will also have to obtain some credit from Russia in order for this exchange to take place in an equivalent and bilaterally advantageous manner.

This is the first half. The second question is our treaty that was signed in January. This has not yet been ratified in Russia. Russia plans to ratify this treaty along with several agreements envisaged at that time. Mr. Dinevics participated and attentively watched the situation regarding how these agreements are enacted by Russia and what has to be done in order for them to adequately enacted on our part, taking into consideration our interests.

Concerning the principles of economic agreements on trade and economic cooperation, we successfully managed to balance these interests. It is clear that both sides are interested. We succeeded to a certain extent.

Regarding the ratification of the political treaty and the drawing up of agreements, there will be more difficult and more complicated work, because many positions may arise where our approaches may differ, but this is a matter for the future.

Mr. Dinevics will tell you about his commission.

[Dinevics] I will add a little. The negative balance of Latvia for next year is to a great extent connected with the fact that Russia is not interested in including into this balance the payments connected with the stay in Latvia of the USSR Army.

This must be solved in corresponding talks with the Soviet Union. If we solve the problem of the cost of these services in freely convertible currency, then our economists think that we will not have a negative balance [word indistinct].

Today we spoke with Russia. These problems must be talked about with the Soviet Union.

I am able to predict that after today's sufficiently successful visit, there could be talks about this problem in the near future on a larger scale; that is, interstate talks between Latvia and Russia could be started. [end recording]

Party Wants Talks on Border With Russia

OW1012234691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1448 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At its Monday's [9 December] session the "Satversme" (Constitution) faction of Latvia's parliament considered a draft resolution on refusing to recognize the annexation of Abrene which used to belong to Latvia. In 1946 the presidium of the Supreme Soviet decided to transfer the area to the Russian Federation.

The faction's chairman Rolands Rikards said that this issue should be included in the agenda of intergovernmental talks with Russia. If Russia agrees to compensate for the property losses of Latvian citizens and if residents of Latvia vote in favor of leaving Abrene to Russia in a referendum, a new treaty will have to be signed and the borders will have to be revised, said Rolands Rikards.

Lithuania

Vilnius Not Invited, Never Planned To Join Union

OW1012151191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1448 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpt] In comments on the statement made on Monday [9 December] by the Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk that the Baltic states might join the Commonwealth of Independent States Audrius Azubalis, spokesman for the press center of Lithuania's parliament, told newsmen on Tuesday [10 December] that Lithuania had not been invited to join the Commonwealth.

According to Azubalis, Lithuania never planned to join this or other union with Soviet republics. [passage omitted]

Call To Join Termed 'Wishful Thinking'

OW1112010691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1618 GMT 10 Dec 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" feature by correspondents Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] When Belarus' leader Stanislav Shushkevich said that the Baltics may join the Community of Independent States, he only expressed his personal opinion, according to a senior staffer of the Lithuanian embassy in Moscow. He said in an interview with DP [Diplomatic Panorama] that Mr. Shushkevich's statement is probably "wishful thinking."

"Though the official response of Vilnius, Tallinn and Riga has yet to come through, it can be predicted with a high degree of accuracy: the Baltic leaders have repeatedly stated that it is the will of their nations that Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia must not join any alliances," emphasized the staffer of the Lithuanian embassy in Moscow.

Landsbergis Comments on New Commonwealth

LD1012150191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2230 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Excerpt] Speaking at today's news conference, the Lithuanian parliamentary leader, Vytautas Landsbergis, said that the fusion of the three former Soviet Slavonic republics into a Commonwealth is a logical political development. Vytautas Landsbergis noted that the notion of Commonwealth had already been used by the Lithuanian Sajudis movement two years ago, when the movement spoke out, for tactical reasons, for a radical restructuring of the Soviet Union. Landsbergis, however, did not specify if Lithuania was going to make any steps, including political, towards establishing official contacts with the commonwealth of Russia, Ukraine, and Belorussia, that had declared to be a subject of international law and a successor to all obligations of the former Soviet Union. Speaking about the Soviet president, Mikhail Gorbachev, Vytautas Landsbergis noted that his presidential authorizations might become invalid now if the three Slavonic commonwealth states decided not to leave any political functions to him.

With regard to the Soviet Armed Forces still stationed on the Lithuanian soil, Vytautas Landsbergis said that with the establishment of a commonwealth the problem of the Army withdrawal had not become any easier to resolve but at least it had become clear with whom to negotiate. Landsbergis told the newsmen that, while in Paris, he had called on the Western countries to consider the presence of the Soviet Army in the Baltics as an international and a European problem. Speaking at a dinner held by the French president, Francois Mitterrand, Saturday [7 December] in honor of the parliamentary leaders of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, Vytautas Landsbergis reminded of the fact that the Soviets had not yet returned the prewar Lithuanian Embassy building in Paris. Last week, France had provided the three Baltic states with premises for temporary embassies. [passage omitted]

Vagnorius Views Economic Situation

LD0712205991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 6 Dec 91

[Text] According to Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius, Lithuania is experiencing perhaps the most difficult period of economic reform, because of the liberalization of prices. He said that the situation has been made more difficult by the fact that Lithuania's market has been burdened by about 4.5 billion devalued rubles.

The prime minister said at a news conference today [5 December] that, thanks to great efforts, the internal situation is so far being stabilized. Wages are being increased, and savings kept in the saving banks until the end of this year will be indexed.

Vagnorius said he wants the press to give more assistance to the government. In his opinion, protests by some publications inflict moral and political harm on Lithuania.

Soviet Officers Refuse To Train Border Guards

LD0812071391 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2159 GMT 5 Dec 91

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] In Klaipeda officers from the Soviet border checkpoint [BCP] refuse to train Lithuanian border-guards since the question of paying for training has not been settled by the Lithuanian side. The training course (4 groups and a 90-hour course) was supposed to start on November 18. Lithuanian border-guards should replace their Soviet colleagues at Klaipeda border check-point (at present—the Baltic border district) in due time.

According to Lieutenant-Colonel Sergey Kazakov, chief of staff of the Soviet frontier unit, servicing at Klaipeda BCP, the joint border-patrolling by the Soviet and Lithuanian soldiers at present is more real on paper.

Interrepublic Affairs

Burbulis, Kozyrev on Commonwealth of States

PM1012133791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Dec 91 Union Edition p 1

[V. Kononenko report: "Founders of the Old Union Set Up New Community"]

[Text] The Minsk accords between the three independent states which had been the founders of the USSR do not spell demise of that Union but the birth of a new formation founded on principles of voluntary association and openness. This is the sense of the statements made at an extraordinary press conference on 9 December in the press center on [Moscow's] Staraya Ploshchad by G. Burbulis, RSFSR state secretary and first vice president, and A. Kozyrev, Russian foreign minister.

Dwelling on the causes and motives of this decision, G. Burbulis informed journalists that the leaders of the three republics had recently been tormented by the question: What organizational, legal, political, and economic forms are needed to implement reforms on the territory of the former Union? What do the people want? In Minsk the common problems which each republic is encountering individually were discussed first, then their specific peculiarities were dealt with. So it was that the discussions engendered the idea of creating a Commonwealth [sodruzhestvo] of Independent States. As a result, statements were signed by the heads of state of Belarus, RSFSR, and the Ukraine, as were agreements and statements on the coordination of economic policy. The principal idea enshrined in these documents is the elimination of the ambiguous position—the hypocrisy even—in which the states of the former Union had found themself recently.

Of course, G. Burbulis continued, the possibilities for the Union Treaty to be signed in its latest version even by the Ukraine were discussed in Minsk, as were questions of responsibility for the overall geopolitical situation and short- and long-term consequences. As a result the participants in the meeting came to the unanimous conclusion that only a single option remained—the formation of a commonwealth. We managed to agree on a single monetary area for the period of economic stabilization, and on open borders—this is of concern to everybody, both the authorities and the population. We are confident that the accords signed in Minsk will enable us to begin constructive work.

A. Kozyrev began his speech by observing that the myth had collapsed which assumed that one-sixth of the world's land surface, where the totalitarian state originally emerged, could not live decentralized and would blow the whole world apart. On 8 December the three presidents contacted George Bush, the minister continued. The conversation was conducted by B. Yeltsin, who has formed good contacts with the U.S. President. A detailed conversation took place, about which the Belarus Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as the coordinating partner, will soon inform the public. The gist of the conversation was that the presidents informed G. Bush of the creation in place of the totalitarian state of a new formation based on the norms of international law. Bush was also informed that the nuclear weapons are under control. As I understand it, the minister said, G. Bush expressed thanks for the information and pronounced himself in favor of setting up regular contacts.

Conversations were also held on 8 December with M. Gorbachev and N. Nazarbayev.

In response to a question about the fate of the center's organs and also of M. Gorbachev as USSR president, A. Kozyrev referred to Article 14 of the agreement, the sense of which was that the center is finished. In this connection, the minister noted that there exist two ways of abolishing the central structures—an uncivilized and a civilized one. The first way was for these structures to resist, which would lead to a known outcome along the lines of the August scenario. The second—the civilized way—was for them to hand over the levers of power and property to the lawful organs of power, which would be more acceptable and painless.

In conclusion he confirmed that control over nuclear weapons is in the hands of the USSR president and of the Defense Council, to which the RSFSR president belongs, and that military-technical control is being implemented by Defense Minster Shaposhnikov. He stressed that continuity will be ensured in this sphere and that there is no danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Further on Official Reaction

LD1012172491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1309 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Report by commentator Andrey Nikiforov on a news conference by Gennadiy Burbulis, RSFSR state secretary and first deputy chairman, Andrey Kozyrev, Russian foreign minister, and Russian State Counselor Sergey Shakhray with unidentified correspondents in Moscow on 10 December—passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] [Nikiforov] The news conference participants opened with statements. Here is the statement by Russian Secretary of State Gennadiy Burbulis:

[Burbulis] "We are convinced that in the final analysis, it is a constructive way out of the long impasse of the negotiating process. The hope was that a full-blooded and fully viable union of independent states could have been created upon the ruins of the totalitarian communist system. We could not drag our feet in resolving problems that concern the majority of the population of our states practically. This was the primary reason we came to Minsk and the main force that united us there. Following a comprehensive analysis of the whole situation, including the economic, political, ideological, and

national aspects, following a detailed analysis and evaluation of the state in which the negotiating process finds itself, the so-called Novo Ogarevo package, we became convinced that the juridical model we proposed—a commonwealth of independent states—represents the only constructive way out of this impasse. This does not imply that the trends and processes that currently exist and take place on the former union's territory are being treated with disdain on purpose or that they are being disregarded emotionally. On the contrary, one of the norms that underpins our agreement proclaims the open nature of the commonwealth and the option that it can be joined by, first and foremost, the states which were members of the former union.

"I think that an exhaustive explanation of the motives for our crucial decision is given by the statement by the heads of states, which notes that the existence of independent states on the territory of the former union has become an objective fact, has become a reality that one cannot ignore, that the naive intention of certain politicians to persuade each other while ignoring the real interests of their populations and their political prospects is to mark time to no end, something which cannot be permitted today, bearing in mind that on no territory are there full-blooded, energetic structures of power and administration actually tackling the problems of their citizens.

"We note that this situation is, to a great extent, caused—to put it mildly—by the short-sighted policy of the union center and, to be more precise—this is my interpretation—by the desire—quite natural for the remnants of a totalitarian center—to survive at all costs in any form, albeit a much limited one, as long as it is the old form."

[Nikiforov] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev takes over:

[Kozyrev] "It seems to me that there is historic truth in the fact that today's news conference on creating the commonwealth of sovereign, independent states on the territory of a former communist, totalitarian system coincides with International Human Rights Day, which is marked in accordance with a UN decision. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed, it seems to me, the supreme principle, the principle that the will of the peoples is expressed not by any leader but by the peoples themselves via free voting and free elections. The leaders of the three states acted on the basis of the mandate of their peoples. They are the legally elected presidents of the Ukraine and Russia and the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, also a legally elected body, of the Belarussian people. I would also like to draw your attention to the fact that the agreement is, in my view, the only, and quite possibly the last, opportunity to avoid a repetition of the Yugoslav option, because what we are being offered today as an alternative is essentially attempts to deny aspirations for independence expressed democratically by an overwhelming majority of the population of Ukraine and, consquently, a struggle against a whole people and against its will."

"How, apart from legal ways? We, the presidents of the three states, proposed legal means to avoid the division of borders, to avoid clashes on the grounds of national minorities, etc. If you look at the content of the agreement, it answers these questions. It begins with human rights in keeping with international standards; in other words, it combines respect for the desire for independence with an understanding of the need to preserve a single humanitarian space, with an understanding of the need to cooperate in the nuclear sphere and to preserve united nuclear weapons, with an understanding of the need for close economic coordination, etc."

[Nikiforov] Finally, here is the speech by Russian State Counselor Sergey Shakray:

[Shakray] "I would like to draw your attention to the legal aspect of the question and to note three points: first, the de facto and de jure situation in which the union is collapsing; second, those who can establish that fact; and third, the constitutional and legal substantiation of the decision by the heads of the three states.

"The first thesis is very simple since the referenda exist; the decisions by the parliaments of former union states on their independence are fact and are at hand, as the saying goes. The actual inactivity of the union bodies is also obvious. Therefore, at issue is not the disbandment of the union, not the legal decision to eliminate it, but a medical diagnosis, the establishment of fact.

"The second thesis is: Who can establish that? They refer to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, but that body does not exist legally. It is laid down in the last decision in constitutional law that the USSR Supreme Soviet is the union supreme body of power. Therefore, forming the Congress of People's Deputies as some kind of plentipotentiary body at variance with the last decision of that same congress is legally annihilated; that body does not exist. The attempt to convene it and the adoption of decisions is unconstitutional. Then who? In 1922, the founding states of the USSR were: Ukraine, Belorussia, the Russian Federation, and the Transcaucasian Federation. That last subject does not exist historically as an independent state. Three union founder states are left, and it is namely these three states which have assumed the historical and legal responsibility for saying honestly to themselves, to their people, and to the international community: The USSR does not exist.

"What is the legal basis for the commonwealth, for this agreement? The USSR emerged as a state out of the unification of these states. They invested the union with the right to be an entity and with plenipotentiary powers. The sovereignty of the states that formed the union takes precedence here, and this is beyond doubt. Take a closer look at the 1922 Treaty and at all the constitutions of the USSR. The formula that the states that form the union are sovereign is repeated everywhere—that is to say, having created the union, they did not lose their state

sovereignty. The Ukrainian referendum, the decisions of the highest, freely elected state authorities of Russia and Belarus—I am concluding my brief statement, my legal statement, if you like. I want to say that a political formula for the economic reform, a formula that is the only one possible in this situation, has been found. If, within these terms of reference, the economic reform begins to work, then stability within the framework of this political commonwealth, within this geopolitical space, will be retained; peoples of these states will be rescued from poverty, hunger, and destruction, and control over nuclear weapons and over the strategic armed forces will be ensured."

[Nikiforov] Participants were asked many questions at the news conference. I now offer some of them for your attention, along with the replies of the Russian leaders:

[Correspondent] "This is the Russian Information Agency: Gennadiy Eduardovich, please clarify the Nazarbayev situation. There is the impression that he was invited to the signing at the last moment, when everything was already decided. If that is the case, why? Is there confidence that the commonwealth will not fall apart? If the answer is in the affirmative, what is this confidence based upon?"

[Burbulis] "I would like to draw your attention to a very important aspect of the agreement concerning the fact that we concluded it by comprehensively considering the existing bilateral treaties between states. It is of principled significance for us. We are convinced that real political and juridical progress has now taken place in this sphere, the sphere of bilateral treaties between states that exist on former union territory. I am convinced that Nursultan Abishevich, having analyzed his own treaties with other states and, above all, with Russia, the Ukraine, and Belarus, together with his comrades and advisers, will see that for the most part our agreement merely restates or enshrines the provisions of these documents.

"Second, President Nazarbayev knew the main objectives of the Minsk meeting and was briefed on the evening of 8 December about the text of the agreement. In the end, his position was the same as the one he has already expressed in the mass media. Since today is President Nazarbayev's inauguration, we think we should all be congratulating him on this important ocassion. The lofty emotions which a president who is about to enter his office must be feeling, I believe, should stimulate substantially his leaning toward our agreement."

[Correspondent K. Mezintsev, GLASNOST] "As a Soviet citizen, I am, of course, sorry to realize that my fate is being decided by somebody who perhaps just wanted to write about this in his memoirs. Nevertheless, Mr. Burbulis, from what you said, it follows that three leaders—your boss and the leaders of the other republics—got together and hastily drew up some sort of a document overnight; after that, without discussing it, in violation of the will of the people expressed during the referendum, you have decided to break up united soviet statehood. After all, I am sorry, but the explanations given by Sergey Mikhailovich are very weak. What could you tell my readers about this?

[Burbulis] "First, I would like to ask your readers not to be so aggressive in their questions and choose their phrases accurately when speaking about the work of the state leaders, representatives of the great nations. Second, I understand your sorrow and commiserate with you."

[Shakhray] "May I add just one remark? I, personally, am convinced that the only possible way to implement the will of the people to preserve the union was by reviving it. All the incantations to preserve it and the attempts behind these incantations to use the military force were exactly the things directed against the people. It is necessary to understand this."

[Correspondent] "Doesn't the possibility of creating a similar commonwealth in the East, also with nuclear potential, with participation of Kazakhstan, worry you? One other very short question: Will you try to prevent the USSR Congress of People's Deputies from meeting?"

[Burbulis] "We are worried about many things, but we think that this will not happen because the way we did it is in the interests of all the former members of the union today. Prevent the Congress? How? We will try to do our best to explain the legal side of this idea, and we count on Supreme Soviets of the states which form the commonwealth to determine the positions, and to begin to see the idea of the congress as questionable."

[Shakhray] "The republican parliaments which have created the renewed Supreme Soviet will determine this. Indeed, perhaps in the next few days they will be examining questions of the status and plenary powers of the deputies representing them in this body."

Burbulis Says Brest Accord 'Only Correct Move'

OW1112003891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 10 Dec 91

[From "Bulletin 2"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Gennadiy Burbulis, First Vice-Premier of the Russian Federation, has said that the decision of the Belarus, Russian and Ukrainian leaders to form a commonwealth of independent states marks an attempt to break free from the deadlock in which the negotiations on the formation of a union of sovereign states have been finding themselves lately. Addressing journalists at the Foreign Ministry press center Tuesday [10 December], Mr. Burbulis said that the Brest decision was "the only correct move in the situation." He explained it by the Slav leaders' unwillingness to continue procrastinating about taking decisions affecting the vital interests of their republics.

Mr. Burbulis described as "naive" the efforts of some politicians to persuade each other of the need to create a new Union. He said those were only signs of the center's political near-sightedness, and relapses of totalitarian thinking aimed at preserving any kind of center at any cost.

The vice-premier said the armed forces were under the command of Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov whom Boris Yeltsin had informed of the Brest decisions on December 8. According to Burbulis, the marshal supported the decision to preserve common military-strategic space.

Asked to comment on Mikhail Gorbachev's future, Mr. Burbulis observed that the commonwealth states would be sure to reach agreement on the matter, since "Gorbachev's rich political experience is still widely applicable."

RSFSR Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who took part in the news conference, said that the Slav leaders' decisions were legally correct, since they had been taken by lawfully elected presidents who were acting on a mandate from their peoples. Mr. Kozyrev believes that marked the last attempt to prevent a repetition of the Yugoslav scenario.

Replying to a question from IF [INTERFAX], State Counsel Sergey Shakhray said that there would be no presidential structures or a cabinet of ministers in the new commonwealth, since " that would be unthinkable."

Comments on Gorbachev Congress Call

OW1112055791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1725 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Commenting on Mikhail Gorbachev's call on Monday [9 December] to convene an extraordinary congress of people's deputies of the USSR, following the conclusion of the agreement on the formation of a community of independent states by the leaders of Belarus, Russia and the Ukraine, State Secretary of the Russian Federation, Mr. Gennadiy Burbulis described it as "at least strange". He said that Mikhail Gorbachev had done everything he could to do away with this congress. Addressing people's deputies of the USSR from the Russian Federation, Mr. Burbulis said at the same time that he was ready to support Mikhail Gorbachev's idea of holding a referendum on the community, if it were prepared quickly. "Otherwise it could be taken for a ruse," he said.

Asked whether he planned to make a special statement in order to prevent the alienation of the Russian Federation's Muslim republics in connection with the agreement, Gennadiy Burbulis said that he was ready to do everything he could to avoid misinterpretation.

He also said that over the past 24 hours the leaders of Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Estonia and Lithuania had confirmed their full support for the agreement on the Community.

Says Request for Congress 'Useless'

LD1012231491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2200 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] During his meeting with USSR people's deputies, Gennadiy Burbulis [first deputy chairman of the RSFSR] said that the collection of signatures aimed at convening an extraordinary congress of the people's deputies of the Union, as organized in the Union parliament, was meaningless and useless. Commenting on Mikhail Gorbachev's declaration on the matter, he said in particular:

[Begin Burbulis recording] The call for an extraordinary congress, coming from the president who, together with us, did everything to eliminate the congress, seems strange at the very least. The legal side of the affair is absolutely irreproachable. In constitutional law—and this expression also sounds very strange, but nevertheless it was adopted at our last congress, the fifth—there is a rule which states that the USSR Constitution acts only in its statutes that do not contradict this law. This is the first rule.

The second rule is that the Supreme Soviet is declared the supreme organ of power for the transitional period. If, when we were adopting it, someone for some reason or another could not understand it very clearly, this is a question of political behavior for all of us. Such is today's political reality from the legal point of view.

There is also a moral and political appeal. I find it particularly offensive to appeal to the congress in a situation when the congress will never be able to express the interests of those people who are suffering the most from the present uncertainty. [end recording]

Says Agreement Open to 'Any State'

LD1012191591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1832 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 10 December (TASS)—The convocation of an extraordinary congress of people's deputies of the USSR to discuss the issue of the country's future "will only give rise to confrontation," according to Gennadiy Burbulis, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR government. He addressed meetings today with people's deputies of the USSR and the RSFSR, explaining the Commonwealth of Independent States agreement, recently signed by the leaders of Belarus, Russia, and the Ukraine. At the same time, Burbulis noted that he does not rule out the idea of holding a referendum on the new state formation.

Having recalled that the agreement is open to be signed by any state that wishes to do so, he said that "interest in it has already been shown by Presidents Akayev of

Kyrgyzia and Ter-Petrosyan of Armenia, and by heads of parliaments Ruutel of Estonia and Landsbergis of Lithuania."

Deputies were told that the position of the three states has been received with understanding in the highest military circles, since the commonwealth agreement takes account, to a large extent, of the interests of the army, which should be under a single command. Burbulis dispelled the fears voiced by deputies that the armed forces might intervene in the present situation. Here he referred to the RSFSR president's conversation with USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, who stated that the agreement signed in Minsk "is what is necessary, and the cadre officer corps will not go against Russia."

Notes Meeting With Deputies

LD1012234591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] For the moment it is Moscow's turn, where Gennadiy Burbulis, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Government, held a meeting with people's deputies of the USSR and Russia. He said, incidentally, that Mikhail Gorbachev's statement proposes a certain compromise, that some of his proposals are quite appropriate, but that the convening of a union congress will only give rise to confrontation.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent V. Perfilyev] Explaining to the deputies the motives that guided the Russian delegation in concluding the agreement, Gennadiy Burbulis, first vice premier of Russia, and representatives of the parliament and the government of the RSFSR stressed that Russia cannot think of its future without Ukraine.

Responding to deputies' questions, they explained the essence of one of the important clauses in the agreement on the commonwealth of the three. In no way does it contain the idea that from the moment of its signing the USSR ceased activity. It will cease as the process of establishing new statehood develops. They stressed that this document should in no way be interpreted as an accord of the Slavic republics; it is open to all the sovereign states. What aims and tasks have you set at this meeting?

[Burbulis] To explain the results of the work in Minsk in detail and nuance; second, to show as respectful an attitude as possible for the anxieties, the worries, and the justified questions of the majority of deputies regarding the consequences of this action and to convince them that there is really no other alternative for us; to persuade them to reflect upon it, and to prevail upon them to adopt it and to share with us. [end recording]

Comments on Kazakhstan's Support

OW1112034491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2102 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Gennadiy Burbulis, the Russian Federation's First Deputy Prime Minister, told people's deputies of the Russian federation that President of Kazakhstan, Mr. Nursultan Nazarbayev, "is currently considering the proposal not merely to join the Community of Independent States, but to act as a co-founder". The moment Mr. Nazarbayev arrived in Moscow on December 8, he got in touch with Boris Yeltsin, who read to him by telephone the text of the signed agreement. Mr. Nazarbayev "initially supported" this agreement, said Gennadiy Burbulis. Then he took a pause and, quite unexpectedly for Boris Yeltsin, appeared at the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin.

Mr. Burbulis said that on the same day Boris Yeltsin called to Marshal Shaposhnikov and read to him the text of the treaty on the common military and strategic system, Mr. Shaposhnikov said that "it was exactly what was needed". Gennadiy Burbulis noted, however, that Marshal Shaposhnikov was concerned about Kazakhstan as the fourth nuclear power.

Mr. Burbulis described Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on the agreement of the three states as "essentially rather compromising".

"It is very difficult to imagine that Gorbachew may misunderstand us," he said.

Asked how the Russian Federation will act if the union congress is convened, Gennadiy Burbulis said that "there is a possibility of preventing the Russian deputies from participating in it".

Addresses Fate of Gorbachev

LD1012234691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2300 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Excerpts] As has already been reported, on 10 December Gennadiy Burbulis, first deputy chairman of the Russian Government, held a press conference in connection with the decision of the leaders of Belarus, Russia, and the Ukraine to create the Commonwealth of Independent States. [passage omitted]

Replying to a question about the fate of Mikhail Gorbachev, Burbulis stated that the countries of the commonwealth could agree on this personal question, too. The Russian leader noted that Mikhail Gorbachev has a wealth of political experience and there is a field in which he could apply his abilities.

At the same time, Russian State Counsellor Sergey Shakhray, replying to a question from an INTERFAX correspondent, stressed that there will not, of course, be any presidential structures or cabinet of ministers in the commonwealth.

Foreign Ministry Warns Against Power 'Collapse'

OW1012180991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1618 GMT 10 Dec 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] It is of paramount importance today to stave off the "collapse" of power and to transfer authority to the Community of Independent States, said a senior staffer of the RSFSR Foreign Ministry. He emphasized in an interview with DP [Diplomatic Panorama] that this fully applies to the foreign policy of what was the Soviet Union.

The diplomat mentioned that the Brest agreement signed by the Ukrainian, Belorussian and Russian leaders called for coordinated foreign policies of the community member countries. He expressed confidence that the "truly professional diplomatic cadres" that had been employed at the Soviet Foreign Ministry would not lose their jobs. They can serve the interests of independent community members and of the entire community.

But the emerging "vacancies are not likely to be automatically filled", intimated the diplomat. The republican Foreign Ministries will hire "on a case-by-case basis, or possibly, on the basis of a competition."

The diplomat did not believe that the location of the community's coordinating structures in Minsk, a city near the western border of the USSR, signifies "an orientation toward Europe." "To be sure, Europe is more than our neighbor, it is one of the allies. But this does not mean that the U.S. or the Pacific region will take a back seat in our foreign policy," said the senior RSFSR Foreign Ministry staffer.

Kozyrev Interviewed

LD1012221891 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1845 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Interview with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by correspondent V. Martynov; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Martynov] Today it is Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev who is giving an interview for Russian TV. Andrey Vladimirovich, it is a tumultuous period now as far as Russia's foreign policy is concerned. What can you say about the events of the past few days?

[Kozyrev] The times are indeed historic, not just for foreign policy but generally for the whole of our part of the globe. Real decisions are already beginning to take shape. Moreover, the elements are now in place to produce a completely new picture—a picture of democratic organization, democratic system for the whole of the territory of the former Soviet Union. Why is it important? Because it is precisely within the bounds of this territory that we shall have to live. After all, there is nowhere else for us to go to get away from one another. I think that the first thing that has emerged over these past few days is that if one embarks on a path of genuinely democratic transformations rather than clinging to the past, it turns out that the devil is not as horrible as he was painted. Everyone is aware that we must live together, that there is nowhere for us to go to get away from one another.

The first event of the past few days is the Ukrainian referendum. There is absolutely no doubt that a free referendum has taken place in the Ukraine, resulting in a pro-independence vote. The election of a new president, who also champions the idea of independence, has taken place. We were being continually scared—we were afraid ourselves, too—that independence could mean a split. Now we know precisely, firmly, and absolutely incontrovertibly that the answer is no. The alliance with Russia is a strategic course of the Ukrainian leadership, confirmed after the elections, too. The same goes for the other major republic—Belarus.

The second major event, in my view, is that on 7 and 8 December there was a meeting between the presidents of the Ukraine and Russia and the chairman of the Belarussian Supreme Soviet, at which an agreement was signed establishing the Commonwealth of Independent States. I think that these are historic changes which show that in this part of the world, too, as is actually the case with other civilized states among which we must belong and we do belong by virtue of our history, culture, and democratic convictions, that here too there can be an organization other than the one proposed by the Father of Peoples, imposed by force and through bloodshed.

The commonwealth agreement provides for open borders. Now is not the time to carve up these borders. It provides for freedom, for the movement of people, the flow of information and economic cooperation. Coordinating mechanisms will be created dictated by the economic necessities themselves. They will mainly be situated in Minsk. It was decided that Minsk will be—well, not a capital, but the headquarters, as it were, of the coordinating bodies.

It seems to me to be very sensible and, incidentally, it puts paid to all the fears that Russia will turn out to have been, as it used to be put, cast aside into Asia. It puts paid to this concept that if Ukraine and Belarus form as states, we would be walled in by a kind of Berlin wall. The borders are open, there is economic cooperation, and on the contrary we are moving westward, bearing in mind that these coordinating mechanisms will be based in Minsk.

Finally, there is common control over nuclear weapons. In the new structure there will be, unambiguously, a common military-strategic space, common control over nuclear weapons, no proliferation of nuclear weapons and, again, no threat to the Europe around us. On the contrary, it is perfectly clear that such a commonwealth

will be a much better partner and a reliable partner to the world around us. So, it is an event on a completely historic scale.

[Martynov] Andrey Vladimirovich, the Commonwealth of Independent States has been formed, and it has been formed by three of the four founders of the USSR. The fourth, the Federation of Transcaucasian States, simply does not exist. You have the Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus. Does this mean that legally the USSR has ceased to exist?

[Kozyrev] It does indeed, but again there are all these apocalyptic scenarios saying that if there is no Soviet Union, there will be chaos. There will be nothing of the sort. Where we had chaos was within the Soviet Union, in its form which no longer corresponds to historical reality, which, in general, was established by Stalin. We have not formed a void in that place; we do not have a hostile Ukraine and Russia. How can the Ukraine and Russia be divided at all? How can there be any hostility between Belarus and, between these peoples? We all know each other. We know that we are simply sister states, three sisters, so to speak. Therefore, the commonwealth came into being immediately.

[Martynov] Do we also have to draw the conclusion from what you have said that the capital of the commonwealth is moving willy-nilly to Minsk?

[Kozyrev] No, that will be the place where the coordinating mechanisms are located. I feel that it is respectful toward the Belarussian people. Kiev, Moscow, and Minsk will remain the capitals of great states and great peoples. So, it is not the capital. The capital for us Russians is Moscow, for the Ukrainians it is the great Kiev, so to speak, but at the same time, Minsk will acquire special importance, of course. I think that is very just.

[Martynov] Under that treaty on a Commonwealth of Independent States, what place have the present Union structures, from the president to the ministers of the USSR, found in this commonwealth?

[Kozyrev] Under the agreement, all those structures are ceasing their activity, just as the Soviet Union is ceasing to exist. I think there are only two approaches here. If particular individuals or structures which guaranteed that old Union or existed in it embark on the road of clinging to it and of attempts to stand in the way of this historic process, I think manifestations of collapse will occur fairly quickly. Therefore, I feel that there will be either a collapse or a civilized transition. I think that during this civilized transition work will be found for everybody, both in the new structures and in the new commonwealth; most importantly, positive work will be found for everybody in the states themselves. Therefore, I think that we are prepared to invite everybody to cooperate.

[Martynov] Was the liberalization of prices in Russia discussed at the talks in Minsk?

[Kozyrev] At the request of the republics it was decided to postpone the freeing of prices from 15 December—we wanted it from 16 December—to 1 January in order to provide an opportunity for preparations to be made.

[Martynov] The European Community recently announced economic sanctions against Yugoslavia. Germany has cut off transportation links with two republics, Serbia and Montenegro. What is Russia's attitude and position regarding to these actions and events?

[Kozyrev] We have not yet defined our official position in this regard because we have very many of our own concerns here. In principle we are in favor of a cease-fire, in favor of a peaceful settlement. I think that we, too, will have to watch the development of the situation very carefully in the very near future and if it is possible to see clearly who is to blame, as they say, for breaking the cease-fire then I do not think we will remain silent.

[Martynov] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union—the former Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union—very often served as a cover for professional spies. How do things stand in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in this regard?

[Kozyrev] I do not think that our Ministry of Foreign Affairs will serve as a cover for anticonstitutional activity, say, for handing over funds from the CPSU or any other party or for ideological sabotage—and such things did take place, until very recently.

[Martynov] Thank you very much for giving time to Russian Television.

[Kozyrev] Thank you very much.

Gaydar Cited on Commonwealth Economic Accords

PM1112104391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[Interview with Yegor Gaydar, vice premier of the Russian Government, by I. Demchenko; place and date not given: "Prices Will Be Released in Three Republics Simultaneously"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The economic accords reached by the leaders of the republics of Belarus, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine, are commented on by Yegor Gaydar, vice premier of the Russian Government.

[Demchenko] The statement of the heads of the three governments "on the coordination of economic policy" repeats almost word for word the basic theses of the treaty on the economic community signed by the heads of these and other republics less than two months ago. Why was it necessary to interrupt the process of the conclusion of this treaty and begin everything again? After all, Ukraine did not refuse to be part of the economic community?

[Gaydar] It did not, but we simply did not manage to make any decisions under the auspices of the Interstate

Economic Committee. Within the framework of that treaty we have so far succeeded in concluding only two important agreements: on the apportioning of the foreign debt and on prices, but in Belarus we have succeeded in resolving several specific practical questions immediately.

We made a very important decision on the retention of the ruble as the monetary unit. Ukraine made a serious commitment to refrain for a specific period from unilateral actions to introduce a national currency.

We agreed on coordinating actions to limit the deficit of our budgets. As of 11 December specialists of the three republics will jointly engage in practical work to form the budgets for 1992 but agreement has already been reached that the maximum deficit norm will be set somewhere at the level of 6.5-7.5 percent of the expenditure section.

One more practical decision is on joint efforts to restrict the amount of money in circulation. We shall pursue a single policy in the field of finances: in the sphere of noncash turnover, reserve requirements, and discount rates. The interbank union will decide fundamental questions including decisions on emission.

At the persistent request of the heads of the governments of the other two republics, Russia has made a concession regarding the deadline for liberalizing prices. We shall now do this together and at the same time—as of 1 January. During this time Belarus and Ukraine will succeed in making preliminary compensation payments and will manage to do a little to defuse the cash shortage situation.

Agreement has been reached on a single tax policy. The leaders of Belarus and Ukraine will submit to their parliaments the proposal to establish a 28 percent value added tax. We shall introduce it simultaneously 1 January.

It is very important that we succeeded in reaching a decision on the joint financing of the armed forces.

[Demchenko] Are there guarantees that the Minsk agreements will not share the fate of the treaty on the economic community?

[Gaydar] Naturally there are no guarantees. It is simply impossible to compel people to fulfill the agreements. The only incentive here is the commonality of interests. To some degree grounds for optimism are provided by the fact that with such a small membership it is easier to reach agreement, and all agreements which have been reached are very specific.

[Demchenko] Did Belarus, whose economic situation is better than the other two republics, join the commonwealth without hesitation?

[Gaydar] First, it cannot remain aloof from Russia since it is part of our single economic area. Second, there is another question: In relation to what is its economic situation good? In relation to our general global collapse, yes, it is better, but nonetheless objectively it is bad.

[Demchenko] Are the Minsk accords the result of a previously compiled plan or were they generated by the logic of the Russian reform?

[Gaydar] They were generated by the logic of life, and we had no prior plan. These accords should be viewed as a way out of the deadlock in which we all found ourselves regarding the Union treaty after Ukraine's position was clearly and unambiguously determined. It became clear that Ukraine would not sign any political treaty—that is the reality within whose logic the Minsk conference took place.

[Demchenko] Surely the Ukrainian people's decision at the referendum was largely provoked by the plans for Russian reform?

[Gaydar] Surely you do not seriously believe that any actions from outside could seriously influence the Ukrainian people's expression of their will? It was simply that this political situation had taken shape, that the process of national self-recognition had proceeded in this way.

Various options for a union were proposed, but they were all unacceptable to the Ukrainian leadership. They decided that it was far more important and useful to acquire some new formula for liaison between the republics than to retain the old name or a single parliament or capital in Moscow, thereby cutting off Ukraine from Russia.

So that these agreements were born as a result of the attempt to reach a new level of relations making it possible to overcome the distrust which had arisen and the imperial traditions and to create a base for further joint existence. That is why we embarked on shifting the capital.

[Demchenko] At whose proposal was this done?

[Gaydar] Stanislav Shushkevich mentioned this on the very first day. He said that as long as Moscow was the capital, there would inevitably be suspicions that the old center was being recreated in new clothes. This idea was supported by the Ukrainian delegation, and we agreed immediately. Minsk was chosen as the most neutral city which does not give rise to any negative political associations and in addition because the talks took place in Belarus and the accords were reached there. This act—moving the capital to Minsk—in fact clearly signifies that the period of the unitary state is receding into the past.

That is why we ensured that the word "union" was replaced by the word "commonwealth." We shall make it as flexible as possible, simply as a base from which we can develop relations further. It is planned that the organs of the commonwealth will be as small as possible in terms of numerical strength. Conferences of ministers

will be held in the relevant directions and small working apparatuses will operate, ensuring the coordination of activity.

[Demchenko] Did you decide in advance that on these questions the Russian delegation would make concessions during the talks?

[Gaydar] Naturally. This was stipulated in principle as a general line. In going to the meeting we decided that we would not try to use the mechanisms of pressure which we have to hand to force the republics to agree to a tougher union than they, and particularly Ukraine, want for themselves.

[Demchenko] Why did the delegations of only three republics take part in the meeting? Why, for instance, was there no invitation to Kazakhstan, which consistently advocates a union and where the proportion of Slavs in the population is high? Why did you not invite the leaders of other republics which signed the treaty on the economic community?

[Gaydar] This agreement could only be signed in this form by three republics, not for national reasons but for purely legal ones: These three republics once created the USSR together with the Transcaucasus Federation, which now no longer exists. That is why as founders of the Union they could assume the responsibility to declare it no longer exists.

As soon as a fundamental decision was made, we telephoned N. Nazarbayev and suggested that he become a co-founder of our commonwealth. There were also contacts with the leaders of other republics. It is a very positive element, incidentally, that the Baltic states have displayed interest in the commonwealth.

We reckon that the whole world will also treat with understanding the accords we have reached.

Shakray Says Agreement 'Will of the Peoples'

LD1012145891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1214 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Dec (TASS)—It is not a matter of disbanding the Union, not a matter of a juridical decision to eliminate it, but a statement of fact, since the decisions of the parliaments of the states of the former Union on their independence, and also the actual inactivity of bodies of the center, are evident. Sergey Shakhray, state counsellor of the RSFSR said this today at a news conference dealing with the agreement signed in Belarus on 8 December on establishing a commonwealth of independent states.

In Sergey Shakhray's opinion, the agreement is not at variance with the fundamental principles of the constitution of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and is wholly in keeping with the main principle: that of the will of the peoples and of freely elected parliaments.

"Instead of congratulations, instead of official recognition of this agreement and an appeal to other states of the former Union to support it, there is confrontation and an attempt to cast doubt upon the decisions of the peoples and parliaments of sovereign states, essentially appeals to opposition," the state counsellor added.

"I am convinced that this is a shortsighted policy," he said, emphasizing that the agreement is in this situation the only possible political formula for economic reform that will make it possible to maintain stability, to save the people from hunger, destruction, and poverty, and to ensure control over nuclear weapons and strategic armaments.

Parliamentary Committees Welcome Minsk Treaty

LD1012184691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] We have just received this report on the telephone from our parliamentary correspondent Ludmila Semina:

[Semina] Russia's state advisers Burbulis and Shakhray ended a press marathon today in the Russian parliament. The subject of the conversation with deputies is one and the same topical one—the Minsk accords. The Russian parliament as a whole is benevolently inclined. The news that the Ukrainian parliament—Fokin phoned through—has supported the statement and agreement was greeted by deputies with applause.

Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian parliament, reported that five committees, including the committee on legislation, have approved the document today. Ratification is planned for 12 December. A speech in parliament by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin is set for the same day. Well, what troubled the deputies? First the way the press is putting it: that it is a union of Slavic states. It is not a union of Slavic states, said Burbulis. All states of the former Union are invited to take part in this union. Russia, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, is a multinational state.

Who supports the accords? Full support has already been expressed by Akayev, Ruutel, Ter-Petrosyan, and Landsbergis. To start with, Nazarbayev expressed full support, and now for some time he has been hesitating. The military and nuclear aspects of the problem worried the deputies very much. Deputies were informed that tomorrow, here in the Russian parliament, early in the morning, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin will meet with the officers of the Army. So these questions too will be agreed on.

'Experts' Recommend Ratifying Minsk Accord

OW1112120991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1129 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to IF [INTERFAX] sources, experts recommend that Russian President Boris Yeltsin battle for the Minsk agreement of the Three. Mr. Yeltsin has received a memorandum evaluating the current moment and giving him recommendations concerning his position at the forthcoming session of the Russian parliament.

Experts note, for instance, that the ratification of the Minsk agreements by the parliaments of the Ukraine and Belorussia allow the Russian president to take a tough stand in the Russian parliament and get the agreements ratified. Experts also think that the attention of the deputies should not be concentrated on the decisions and moves of their Ukrainian and Belorussian colleagues and switched over to the strong support given to the agreements by other former Soviet republics. They also agree that the leaders of the Central Asian republics look at the Minsk agreements from different angles.

The memorandum puts a strong emphasis on the international support for the Minsk agreements. Special emphasis is laid on the position of the Common Market.

Experts recommend that the Russian MPs [members of parliament] and public should be given to understand that any attempt to throw the country back to the old political system may cause a serious political crisis.

Official Reaction to Commonwealth Accord Noted

Moscow's Popov Critical

OW1112045591 Tokyo KYODO in English 0428 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Excerpt] Moscow, Dec. 10 KYODO—Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov criticized a new agreement made by three Slavic republics that creates a commonwealth of independent states, saying such a crucial matter should be finally decided by a national referendum, the independent INTERFAX NEWS AGENCY reported Tuesday [10 December].

The agency quoted Popov as saying that it was not the type of matter that leaders of the three republics could decide for themselves, noting that each of the presidents has terms that last "only five years."

Leaders of Russia, the Ukraine, and Belarus agreed Sunday [8 December] to dissolve the Soviet Union and form a new Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

The Ukraine and Belarus both ratified the new agreement Monday [9 December] at their supreme conferences, sources in Moscow said.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Popov have so far reportedly fostered a close relationship in promoting democratization of the Soviet Union.

Leaders of the republics should refer the question to an emergency conference of the Soviet people's deputies, Popov reportedly said, adding that the Soviet people should then decide their fate through a national referendum.

He also criticized the fact that Russia joined in the formation of a new CIS in defiance of several other ethnic groups within the republic, INTERFAX reported. [passage omitted]

Tatarstan President Reacts

OW1112014191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 10 Dec 91

[From "Bulletin 2"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Mintimer Shaymiyev of Tatarstan has censured the idea of having ex-Soviet republics form new alliances according to ethnic or religious principles. Asked by IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent about Kazan's reaction to the decision of Russia, Belarus and the Ukraine to form a commonwealth of independeent states, Mr.Shaimiyev said it would be inadmissible to have an Islamic union exist vis-a-vis a Slav one, since "that would inevitably push up confrontational attitudes in the USSR and destabilize the situation in Tatarstan and Bashkortosta." According to Shaymiyev, if a new commonwealth is ever to emerge, it will be sure to involve all the newly sovereign ex-Soviet republics. "It is essential that former autonomies be admitted too, as soon as they acquire the proper official status. Tatarstan may enter the commonwealth—if we make sure it will be viable," the Tatar leader said.

Whether or not Tatarstan will be among the new commonwealth's founders would depend, according to Mr. Shaymiyev, on the outcome of his republic's talks with the Russian Federation. He said a number of economic agreements had already been concluded, which, however, did not remove the need to take a political decision on Tatarstan's sovereignty. The parliament intended to decide the republic's future status by means of a referendum, Mr. Shaimiyev said.

Asked to predict the possible reaction to the trilateral agreement on the part of the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies which is to convene shortly, M. Shaymiyev said he expected the congress to look for ways of reuniting the republics—"a goal which Russia, the Ukraine and Belarus have already made a step to." Clearly, none of the ex-Soviet states would be able to break out of the crisis single-handed, Tatarstan's president concluded.

Buryat Movement Comments

OW1112051291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1725 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "Political chaos" is what the coordinating council of the Movement for democracy in Buryatia (MDB)

called the agreement among the three Slavic republics on the suspension of normative laws of the former USSR.

Sergey Shabkhaev, a deputy to the Union parliament from Buryatia, told an "IF" [INTERFAX] correspondent that the agreement was not a legal document until it is ratified by the Supreme Soviets of those republics.

The coorinating council of the MDB demanded that the latest variant of the Union Treaty be published, and also that the issue of the future formation of the USSR be discussed at the regular sixth session of the Supreme Soviet of Buryatia.

DPR's Travkin Sees Dangers

PM1112105791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 91 p 2

["Own Information" report: "Participants or Victims"]

[Text] The Third Congress of the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] was held in the House of Unions Hall of Columns 7-8 December. This is the largest political party today: It has over 600 organizations with about 50,000 members.

The party has been formed, and this required a concrete program, the improvement of the internal party structure, the elaboration of positions on the changes taking place in Russia and the country, and the possibility of cooperation and collaboration with other parties and movements.

The report delivered by Party Chairman N. Travkin and the speeches of delegates and guests sounded a note of alarm over the loss of statehood and the disintegration of the USSR, which could prove disastrous for Russia too. "For us the indivisibility of Russia is axiomatic," N. Travkin said, "but it is necessary to secure from the government a program of transformations because it is only with a specific program that people can become participants in the reforms."

The varied assessments, opinions, and proposals for the formulation of DPR policy (from extremist to constructive) and tumultuous applause for or slow applause of speakers make it possible to say that in time the DPR may become an impressive political force.

Further on Democratic Party Reaction

LD1012223991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] The document signed by the heads of the three republics in Belarus does not suit the Russian Democratic Party, a RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent was told by (Valeriy Kholikov), chairman of the executive committee of the party. We consider that only a strong, powerful center is capable of insuring the observance of human rights on the territory of this country. The party's attitude to this problem was expressed today at a meeting on Manezh Square in Moscow held on the initiative of the capital's section of the party. It was attended by representatives from various regions of the country, including North Ossetia and Pridnestrovye.

Manezh Square Demonstrators Respond to Accord

LD1012232191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2220 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Belskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 10 December (TASS)—Representatives of various political parties came to Manezh Square in the center of Moscow today to express their attitude to the documents signed in Belarus. Essentially they were all united—the existing republics are not just attributes of statehood, but first and foremost, people. This huge country, extending as it does over two parts of the world, is our common home, and it is in trouble—especially "now, after the signing of the agreement we all know about it." "We should not go running around our own national domains setting up separate deals. People forget that our strength lies in unity." Such were the themes running through today's demonstrations.

An hour before the planned rally of the Democratic Party of Russia in the Manezh, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party of the Soviet Union, gathered his supporters together here. His speech before the gathering boiled down to the claim that "Russia is being ruled by people who do not realize what is going on in the country."

Meanwhile, activists of the Russian Communist Workers Party and the "Working Moscow" movement approached the walls of the "Moskva" hotel carrying banners with the slogans "The USSR is the stronghold of peace, but what is the Commonwealth of Independent States?" and "Shevardnadze is the stage manager of the disintegration of the USSR." Nearby were gathered representatives of the Russian Peasants Party. The chanting of "Soviet Union, Soviet Union!" was drowned by cries of "Yeltsin, Yeltsin!" A speech by Nikolay Travkin, chairman of the Democratic Party of Russia, was drowned by demands to bring out the state flag of the USSR onto an improvised platform. Still, Nikolay Travkin said all he wanted to say: The present leadership of the republic "is committed to preserving the country's unified common space [yedinoye obshchecheloveheskoye prostranstvo strany]," having subscribed to the "creation of a new union," the Novo-Ogarevo process. The Democratic Party's youth organization fully supported its leader's speech, supplementing it with a demand to consider the agreements signed in Belarus as having no juridical power.

Zhirinovskiy Comments

OW1112033891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2102 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party of the USSR, called the agreement on a Commonwealth of Independent States "anti-Russian." Speaking on Tuesday [10 December] night at a demonstration on Manezh Square in Moscow, he emphasized that the agreement unleashes the Muslim republics and betrays Russians living in the republics of the former Union. "Russians lose again, since there are non-Russian states on Russian territory which do not want to enter a Slavic union," Zhirinovskiy said. He called upon Soviet President Gorbachev not in any case to resign, and to pass all constitutional measures to defend the Fatherland, in particular to call an immediate congress of Soviet peoples' deputies, which is "the only legal power in the country."

Nobody ever gave the leaders of the Slavic republics the power to destroy the USSR, and their actions are illegal, Zhirinovskiy said.

Commentary on Brest Accord, Gorbachev

LD1112103391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Nikolay Agayants commentary]

[Text] In politics, just as in international sports, one cannot constantly rest on one's laurels, sitting for a long time on the victor's pedestal. One should know how to quit at the right time, with dignity, at the very zenith of one's fame, as done for example, by Winston Churchill, Charles de Gaulle and, only recently, Margaret Thatcher, leaving their contemporaries and descendants with good memories of them.

In our long-suffering and submissively obedient country, there have been no such precedents over the past 74 or so years, and it looks as though none is to be expected for the time being. At any rate, Mikhail Sergeyevich's interview for Ukrainian Television and the statement by the president of a non-existent Union regarding the agreement on the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States force one to ponder seriously on the nature of our supreme power and on the reasons which force even the most intelligent and noble political figures to cling so hard to it.

I personally felt irritated and embarrassed by Gorbachev's arguments to the effect that public opinion polls supposedly prove indisputably the adherence of the population of the former empire to the idea of the Union. As though the referendum in Ukraine, in which the overwhelming majority of the republic's inhabitants came out unequivocally in favor of independence, had never happened. Gorbachev's conviction that there is no other way than living together within the framework of the ugly-sounding USS sounded rather strange on Central Television. As though Shushkevich, Yeltsin, and Kravchuk, having denounced the former Union accords and signed the agreement on a commonwealth of three, open incidentally to all other states, did not thus prove that other options are possible. And the USSR president's nostalgic references to his close and distant relatives in the beautiful Bitkov area [town in Ivano-Frankovsk area of Ukraine] seemed totally unconvincing. As though his lack of Ukrainian roots could have changed anything at all in the present situation.

As for Mikhail Sergeyevich's statement that he is only just starting the struggle for the Union—against whom and one wonders with what methods—this, in my view, actually only pours oil on the fire of raging passions and creates a tension that no one needs in a society already at the end of its tether. Time will not wait. All kinds of excuses and procrastination, congresses and plebiscites only intensify the difficult crisis atmosphere. There is no need to painstakingly shield the light that has appeared at the end of the tunnel with banners bearing rhetorical appeals and boards bearing decrepit slogans. The Marxist theory of the base and superstructure clearly does not work today. The sovereign republics have no need whatsoever of the existence above them of some artificial structure in the form of a center. And this should be taken as the starting point. There can be no return to the past.

Supreme Soviet

Deputies on Yeltsin Signing Minsk Accord

LD1112114691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 11 Dec 91

[From the "New Wave" Program]

[Text] An INTERFAX correspondent has learned that a group of RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputies is actively working out its position on the speech by Boris Yeltsin expected in the republican parliament tomorrow. From conversations with deputies belonging to various fractions, it has emerged that the sharpest question that the Russian president may have to reply to could be: Who gave Yeltsin a mandate to sign the agreement in Minsk? These deputies assert that the emergency powers gained by Yeltsin at the last Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies extend only to the economy. Apart from this, many deputies are concerned by the absence of any sort of consultation with the parliament in the period of drafting the text of the commonwealth agreement. Certain members of the Russian Parliament have pointed to the absence in Minsk of Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

[In a report from the Russian Parliament later in the broadcast, radio correspondent Olga Vasilenko comments on this report as follows: "As for the INTERFAX report at the beginning of the newscast concerning the attitude of deputies to this trilateral agreement, you know, so far there has not been a word in the Soviet of the Republic about this. I am listening to the sitting. In the Soviet of Nationalities the attitude was extremely

calm, so to speak, and so far there has been no serious talk about it there, either. Perhaps this will come later, at the joint sitting beginning at 1600."]

Further on Signing Accord

OW1112131391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1129 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An "IF" [INTERFAX] correspondent has learned that a group of deputies of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet are actively developing their positions in relation to Yeltsin's expected speech December 12th in the republican parliament. In talks with deputies from various factions it is clear that the most sharp question which the Russian president could possibly face is: Who gave Yeltsin the mandate to sign an agreement in Minsk?

In the opinion of some of the members of the parliamentary committee on legislation, the decisions of the Congress of Russian People's Deputies and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in the past half year do not give the president the power to sign an agreement in which the political status of the republic is changed, without preliminary consultations. These deputies maintain that the extraordinary powers which Yeltsin received at the last congress of Russian people's deputies are applicable only for the economy. In addition to this, many deputies are worried by the absence of any consultation with parliament during the period of preparation of the text of the agreement on the Commonwealth. Some members of Russian parliament pointed to the absence of the Russian chairman of the Supreme Soviet, Ruslan Khasbulatov, in Minsk.

Supporters and detractors of the agreement, similarly, are actively striving to secure the support of as many deputies as possible. According to our sources, many political parties, not in favour of the agreement, are working to activate agitation among Russian deputies at all levels. They note that an extraordinary congress of Russian people's deputies can be called not only if the Supreme Soviet demands it, but also by peoples' deputies who are not in parliament. In conjunction with this, according to testimony from such deputies, contacts between members of the Supreme Soviet and deputies has in places "reached a peek."

In the words of one of the parliamentarians, peoples' deputies from autonomous regions not in the Supreme Soviet are prepared to "actively participate" in the session and may ask the question, "to what degree is Russia Slavic." One of the deputies has said that the fact that "some are perplexed" points to the problem that the Minsk agreement leaves "too many questions without answers."

One of those "open" questions is the transfer to Minsk of the capital of the Commonwealth. Preliminary estimates made by a group of deputies show that the cost of such an action could be more than 2 billion rubles.

According to "INTERFAX," the leadership of the Soviet Armed Forces is also not united about such a move. "Minsk could sooner move to Moscow, we do not intend to move our base of military management to Minsk," said a general at Headquarters in an interview with "IF." The general recalled the transfer of the leadership of NATO's military structure from Paris to Brussels, stating that this operation demanded "a sum which Russia simply does not have in its pocket."

It seems that the Russian peoples' deputies' position is being influenced by Kazakh President Nazarbayev's feelings about the Minsk agreement. In the parliament's lobby, rumours were spreading that the leader of Kazakhstan intends on Friday [13 December] in Alma-Ata to meet with the leaders from the Asian region of the USSR. According to a deputy, one can expect a statement by Nazarbayev that "if dialogue on the future of the Union cannot continue in a civilized manner, then Kazakhstan will propose a draft of a regional confederation to conduct negotiations with Belarus, Russia and Ukraine." The formula for negotiations in such a situation would be '3 and 5,'" this deputy said. Some of the MPs [members of parliament] would welcome Boris Yeltsin's, Leonid Kravchuk's and Stanislav Shushkevich's joint visit to Alma-Ata.

During the parliamentary hearings on Thursday [12 December] the deputies may also discuss Russia's budget for 1992. Some of the MPs believe that if Kazakhstan and other republics do not join the Minsk agreement, Russia will have to increase spending on the maintenance of the armed forces (in individual estimates, by 22 per cent).

There are deputies who think that if the agreement causes arguments in parliament, the need may rise to convene a congress of people's deputies of the Russian federation, whose outcome is difficult to predict.

Very few of the MPs would venture to formulate the deputies' common attitude to the agreement. For instance, the deputies representing the Social-Democratic Party do not oppose a union of Slavic states, but consider the Minsk agreement "juridically invalid." Representatives of some other parties and factions seem to be sharing the social-democrats' viewpoint.

The most outspoken opponents of the agreement say that the ratification of this document is tantamount to withdrawal from the USSR. Such a decision, they say, may be taken exclusively by the congress, by a qualified majority of delegates.

The internal security of the Russian parliament's building is reported to have been strengthened on December 9 by the OMON [special purpose militia detachment] men, who defended the Russian parliament during the August putsch.

Yeltsin on 12 Dec Session

LD1112144491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Text] The agreement on creating a commonwealth of sovereign states will be discussed tomorrow at a joint meeting of the chambers of the Russian Supreme Soviet. Here is what the President of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin, said on this score:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] To speak today on how the discussion will go on ratifying the agreement between Russia, the Ukraine, and Belarus—you know that the Ukraine and Belarus have ratified it, and I would say in a great, good mood. Well, there will probably be a discussion, but I nevertheless hope that the parliament correctly understands and will understand that this today is perhaps the most optimum resolution. Otherwise we and the Ukraine would find ourselves on different sides of the barricades, and that would be terrible. [end recording]

Parliament Adopts New Law on Income Tax

OW0712234091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1459 GMT 7 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian parliament passed a law on income tax on individuals. The new document confirms tax rates suggested by the president.

Annual income (rubles)	Tax rate
Up to 42,000	12%
Up to 84,000	5,040 rubles plus 15% of sum over 42,000
Up to 120,000	11,340 rubles plus 20% of sum over 84,000
Up to 180,000	18,540 rubles plus 30% of sum over 120,000
Up to 300,000	35,540 rubles plus 40% of sum over 180,000
Up to 420,000	84,540 rubles plus 50% of sum over 300,000
Over 420,000	144,540 rubles plus 60% of sum over 420,000

The law takes effect as of January 1, 1992, invalidating the USSR law on income tax on Soviet citizens, foreigners and stateless persons.

Discussion of Tax Laws Detailed

PM1112130991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[Parliamentary correspondents I. Yelistratov and G. Shipitko report: "As of 16 December Russia Releases Prices"]

[Text] On 5 December, when discussing the Law "On Certain Questions Relating to the Legal Regulation of the Activity of Kray and Oblast Soviets of People's Deputies," which has been returned by the president for reexamination, the Russian parliament attentively studied the president's observations and amendments, and was able to find mutual understanding both with the president and with his advisers and by means of mutual concessions (sometimes very significant ones!) to arrive at a general accord.

The same thing happened with the Law "On Raising the Minimum Wage." Here the main stumbling block was the timing of the introduction of this law for budget-financed and nonbudget—that is to say economically autonomous—enterprises and institutions. The essence of the differences of opinion that emerged boiled down to the fact that the president asked that the minimum wage be set for budget-financed organizations as of 1 December, whereas parliament was insisting on 1 January. Russian Vice Premier Ye. Gaydar explained: All enterprises in the production sphere have already been allowed to form their own wage fund as of 1 December. They will manage, but what about "officials," doctors, teachers, and scientific personnel? As of 16 December, Russia is "liberating" prices. The presidential decree, on which parliamentarians cast doubt, was to "offset" a possible price hike and compensate the public employees' [byudzhetniki] losses. For the others, however, the president and the government have agreed to establish the minimum wage as of 1 January, and in stages, as the enterprises themselves procure resources. That is what was decided. Furthermore, as of 1 January 1992 the minimum old age pension will be raised to the level of the minimum wage—342 rubles [R] plus additional payments (for those who receive them).

The search for compromises continued with the discussion of the RSFSR Law "On Value-Added Tax." Here there was a long discussion (over three hours). Ye. Gaydar and A. Pochinok, chairman of the Budget Commission, had to exert a great deal of effort to convince parliament of the need to introduce the tax without negating the severity of its proposed rate. There was a great divergence of opinion, incidentally. Parliament believed that the 32 percent tax proposed by the government would simply stifle any initiative and insisted on 20 percent. Explaining that this tax would replace the turnover tax and the sales tax, Gaydar and Pochinok, explained at the same time that it is not connected with the results of an enterprise's production activity and does not influence it in any way, except maybe regarding purchases of other goods. As a result, a compromise was reached: The value-added tax was to be set at 28 percent, provided that it was a temporary figure for the transitional period.

On 7 December, parliament continued its work on the tax laws whose adoption will finally open the way to the liberalization of prices and the implementation of economic reform. Henceforth the Law "On Income Tax on Individuals" envisages that the total tax on an annual

income of up to R42,000 will amount to 12 percent of the total income, whereas the tax on an annual income exceeding R42,000 will progress in line with a specially established coefficient. This law comes into force as of 1 January.

The Law "On a Registration Levy on Individuals Engaged in Entrepreneurial Activity" was also adopted. The maximum rates for registration (reregistration) are established by the rayon and city soviets of people's deputies and do not exceed the minimum monthly wage in the RSFSR. The specific size of the levy is to be decided by the local administration organs. The total levy is paid into the local budget.

Parliament Delegation Visits Checheno-Ingushetia

PM1012145991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Pavel Anokhin report: "Closer to the Spirit of the Law"]

[Text] Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, met with workers from the Russian mass media on 4 December.

The conversation highlighted events in the "hot spots," especially Checheno-Ingushetia. The meeting's host noted that a number of publications had presented General Dzhakhar Dudayev as the legitimate president and Checheno-Ingushetia as a region divided into two republics, although there has been no official recognition of these points. Urging the press to stay closer to the spirit of the law and maintain objectivity, S. Filatov recounted the rapidly deteriorating situation in that republic and its increasingly uncontrolled character and cited examples referring to operational reports.

S. Filatov sees the reasons for this as follows: the presence among the population of weapons and the hysteria being whipped up over "the intrigues of Moscow," which is allegedly striving to encircle and blockade Checheno-Ingushetia.

"This is not true. We seriously intend to get by without resorting to military or economic methods of pressure," he declared.

Announcing that a delegation with full authority has been sent to Groznyy, S. Filatov stressed that the Russian parliament is striving to define a policy for action on a legal basis after investigating the matter objectively.

Parliament Focuses on Economic Issues

PM1112094391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Parliamentary Observers Aleksandr Linkov and Robert Minasov report: "Parliament Discusses Economic Reforms. Fourth Session of RSFSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] Moscow—Upon starting work at the joint Supreme Soviet sitting 5 December, a number of deputies tried to make certain amendments to the proposed agenda. Deputies S. Baburin, T. Ponomarev, and M. Astafyev spoke of the need to evaluate the fact of the proclamation of Ukraine's independence.

After an exchange of opinions, it was decided to return to an evaluation of events in Ukraine after careful analysis and study. For the time being the deputies confined themselves to congratulating the Ukrainian people, who proclaimed their independence via a democratic referendum.

Returning to the agenda, the Supreme Soviet adopted on its second reading the RSFSR Law "On Making Amendments and Additions to the RSFSR Criminal Code, Code of Criminal Procedure, and RSFSR Code on Administrative Offenses." Let us merely note the fact that henceforth the death penalty has been abolished for so-called economic crimes, and private enterprise and brokerage, which were previously criminal offenses, have been legalized.

Well conducted preparatory work in the committee made it possible without particular friction to examine the law "On Certain Questions of Legal Regulation of the Activity of Kray and Oblast Soviets of People's Deputies," which the president referred back to parliament: The president did not sign it before because of serious criticisms.

The Supreme Soviet closely examined the question of relations with the Union budget until the end of 1991. While assuming the heavy burden of additional expenditure linked with financing Union structures, the Russian leadership believes that, as from November this year, all revenue entering the Union budget from RSFSR territory must be wholly counted toward the republic budget in order to partially reimburse the republic's own budget in 1991.

Incidentally, the financial situation and stabilization of the economy are the main themes for the next few days of the session's work.

What will become of the goose which lays the "golden eggs"? This was the question which one of the parliamentarians asked Russian Government Deputy Chairman Yegor Gaydar at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet's 6 December morning sitting during the heated debate which flared up over the draft law "On Value Added Tax." Two positions came into conflict: The president proposes that the level of tax be set at 32 percent, while the Supreme Soviet proposes that it be set at 20 percent.

Both sides' arguments look quite convincing. For the government, these taxes are one of the few sources for filling the ailing coffers. Apart from that, as Yegor Gaydar said, all world experience testifies that no incentives work in conditions of extremely severe crisis. And if you embark upon the road of setting the tax according to the level of profitability, as the people's deputies

propose, then Gaydar believe that eventually we will kill the goose that lays the "golden eggs."

I will not meticulously clarify what kind of a goose this value added tax is exactly because my efforts to find this out from a number of deputies came to nothing. However, the report that a commentary by a specialist will appear in one of our newspaper's next few issues is some consolation. For now, I will cite the general provision from the draft law: "Value added tax is a way of bringing into the budget system part of the increase in value created in the process of producing goods, work, and services and paid into the budget as these are sold."

The discussion on this draft law began after the RSFSR Supreme Soviet had adopted the amendments and additions submitted for the RSFSR law "On Increasing the Minimum Wage" in connection with President Boris Yeltsin's letter of 28 November. In this letter Boris Nikolayevich asked that the law's entry into force be postponed from 1 December to 1 January 1992. This amendment was approved.

Thus from 1 January next year the minimum wage in organizations and institutions financed from budget sources will be 342 rubles. In all nonbudget-financed organizations and enterprises the deadline for the law's entry into force is the first quarter of next year. This is so as to give the labor collectives themselves a chance to maneuver in their quest for sources of finance.

It has to be said that for the RSFSR Supreme Soviet the next few days are a busy time totally dominated by the need to discuss and adopt a whole package of draft laws forming the basis for the economic reforms proclaimed by the Fifth (Extraordinary) Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies and in the Russian Federation president's program statement.

Therefore the deputies greeted with satisfaction the announcement by Aleksandr Pochinok, chairman of the Commission for the Budget, Plans, Taxes, and Prices, that agreement had been reached with the government not to examine presidential decrees at the session but to concentrate on draft laws, in particular those on taxes, which have already passed their first reading.

Yesterday's morning sitting began an hour late as the people's deputies devoted this time to laying wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in connection with the 50th anniversary of the start of the counteroffensive by our troops outside Moscow.

Federation Affairs

Government Decrees, Resolutions Issued

On Countering Production Drops

LD0712034391 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Dec 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin recently issued decrees on immediate measures to organize the work of the industry of the RSFSR and on measures to stabilize the work of the industrial complex of the RSFSR under the conditions of economic reform. Their main aim is to consolidate the current status of enterprise directors, to stabilize the situation within the country's industries, and to preserve, in the first quarter of 1992, mutually advantageous economic links and contractual obligations with regard to the supply of raw materials, other materials, and ready-made goods. The decrees are part of the Russian program of economic reform and contain acknowledgement of the full economic independence of enterprises.

The necessity for these decrees has been brought about, in particular, by the catastrophic slump in industrial production in the RSFSR. According to statistical data, a decrease in production may be observed in 290 types of the main kinds of output, including a decrease of oil extraction by 10 percent, coal by 11 percent, and steel by 12 percent. The production of light industry goods has fallen by around the same amount. Impartial statistics do not have any comforting or reassuring indicators today.

On Importing Medicines

OW1012005591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 9 Dec 91

[From "Bulletin 3"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian president signed a decree to cope with the acute shortage of medicine and medical equipment. The government has instructed to enact a medicine-import program for the next year within ten days. Russia will allocate 1.35 billion rubles worth of hard currency to purchase essential medicine and raw materials and equipment to produce medicine.

Beginning next year, at least 10% of all foreign loans will come to the domestic health-care industry.

Proposals must be in place within two weeks concerning raising medicine prices and compensations to the population and health-care facilities.

On Exonerating Cossacks

OW1012032891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1945 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin has instructed his legal adviser Sergey Shakhray to form a commission to draft a RSFSR law on the exoneration of the Cossacks. 30,000 rubles has been allocated to finance the commission's work.

The instruction marks another step towards the exoneration of repressed peoples, as is required by the relevant Russian law.

On Press Protection

PM1012154191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[RSFSR Government resolution "On Measures To Protect the Press and Mass Media in the Period of Transition to Market Relations"]

[Text] With a view to protecting the press and mass media during the transition to market relations, the RSFSR Government resolves:

1. To abolish as of 1 December 1991 the restrictions established by the RSFSR Council of Ministers Decree No. 623 of 29 December 1990 on the maximum level of profitability for printing work and services carried out by RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media enterprises and organizations.

2. To permit newspaper and magazine editorial offices and also television and radio organizations within the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media system to make independent use, after making payments to the budget, of revenue from production and commercial activity and resources from other sources of nonbudget finance to bolster the material and technical base and ensure the social development of collectives.

3. To categorize printed products—books, newspapers, magazines—as consumer goods for the printing industry.

4. In forming the budget for 1992 and subsequent years to lay down that expenditure on socially significant literature produced by state publishing houses and on periodicals founded by the RSFSR's supreme organs of state power and administration and also the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media constitutes expenditure of all-republic (RSFSR) significance. The total appropriations allocated to the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media for these purposes are approved as a separate item in the RSFSR republic budget.

5. To recommend that the Councils of Ministers of republics within the RSFSR and the organs of executive power of krays, oblasts, autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg single out expenditure on maintaining periodicals as a separate item in the budgets of the corresponding territories.

6. To agree to the proposal by the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media to set up on a contractual basis a nonbudget fund to support the press and mass media.

7. As of 1992, when drawing up delivery volumes for republic state needs, the RSFSR Ministry of the Economy and Finance and the RSFSR Ministry of Trade and Material Resources must envisage the centralized allocation of off-road vehicles to the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media in order to equip the editorial staff of newspapers and television and radio organizations on the basis of applications by the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media.

8. To grant to the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media and associations, enterprises, publishing houses, and organizations within its system the right;

To carry out under the procedure enshrined in existing legislation compensatory and barter deals to purchase equipment and materials for publishing houses, newspaper and magazine editorial staff, television and radio organizations, and printing enterprises:

To elaborate and approve, within the limits of nonbudget sources of finance, statutes and estimates for resource expenditure on holding competitions, book exhibitions, and fairs connected with the ministry's activity.

9. The RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media must take measures for the additional production of children's literature, reference literature, literature in small print runs in the languages of the RSFSR peoples, scientific, and other socially significant literature in the newly organized nonstate publishing houses.

[Signed] G. Burbulis, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Government
27 November 1991, Moscow

Soviet, Russian Communist Parties 'Not Dead Yet'

LD1112060791 Moscow TASS in English 1355 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Vdovin]

[Text] Moscow December 10 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party is not dead yet. After heavy blows from democrats and pseudo-Communists it had to split, first secretary of the Moscow branch of the Russian Communist Workers' Party Viktor Ampilov told TASS today.

He claimed the party boasts a membership of ten thousand people and will become the largest political party in the country in the near future.

We want to ensure real people's power through the power of soviets, Aleksey Sergeyev, member of the party's Central Committee, told journalists today. Socialist construction, as an alternative to a market economy, is the focus of the party's economic programme.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin banned the Soviet and Russian Communist Parties in the Republic after the foiled August coup. But what is left of the party is reemerging under new names.

Russian Communists Criticize Gorbachev, Yeltsin

OW1112032891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2102 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leaders of the Russian Communist Workers' Party have accused Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin of pursuing a policy which is betraying the interests of the country and is leading to poverty. "Even if the ex-general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party grieves over the Union, his current position is a direct consequences of his own moves," representatives of this party's leaders said at a press conference in Moscow's House of Journalists on Tuesday [10 December]. The press conference was timed to coincide with the presentation of this party's documents to the Ministry of Justice for registration.

Speaking about the congress of the Russian Communist Workers' Party, held in Yekaterinburg on November 23 and 24, the participants in the press conference said that the "number of their supporters has exceeded 10,000".

The Russian communists believe that the current "capitalism-oriented policies will destroy Motherland".

Answering the IF [INTERFAX] question, one of this party's leaders, Mr. Richard Kosolapov, said that the goal of his party was "prosperity in a great power and the restoration of genuine democracy". His words suggested that the party leadership would not tolerate any dissent in the party ranks. The party's rules exclude factions and platforms.

Asked about the newly-signed agreements on the Community of Independent States, the leaders of this party said that the current political situation in the USSR was a consequence of "the decisions taken by bureaucrats in the intervals between hunting and banquets" and of "anti-constitutional changes in the USSR Constitution".

The statements made by this party's leaders also suggest that in their struggle for saving the Union the Russian Communists may form an alliance with true Russian patriots, such as Travkin's Democratic Party, the Party of Revival and Zhirinovskiy's Liberal-Democratic Party.

Socialist Working People's Party Registered

PM1012164991 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Dec 91 p 2

[Unattributed report under "Parties, Movements" rubric: "Congress Soon"]

[Text] At the RSFSR Ministry of Justice, RSFSR People's Deputy I.P. Rybkin, chairman of the Socialist Working People's Party Organizing Committee, has been given registration certificate No. 418, dated 21 November 1991, for his party.

When registering at departments of justice and opening their own current accounts, regional organizations of the party must cite the registration number.

The party will hold its first congress 21-22 December in Moscow. The venue will be the Youth Institute ("Vykhino" subway station, 5/1 Yunosti Street).

PRAVDA's Telephones, Electricity Cut Off

OW1112014891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2102 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] IF [INTERFAX] was told at PRAVDA's editorial office that on Tuesday [10 December], telephones and electricity were cut off at its main departments by order of the PRAVDA publishers' Deputy-Director, Mikhail Kostrov, who also denied all visitors, including part-time reporters and people's deputies admission to PRAVDA's editorial office.

PRAVDA personnel believes that this step was taken in response to the Russian Federation Ministry of Information and the Press's plans to place PRAVDA's premises at the disposal of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA.

On December 11, at midday, a press conference will be held on the eighth floor.

Stepashin Views New Security Agency's Tasks

PM1012144791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Dec 91 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Major General S. Stepashin, deputy chairman of Russian Federal Security Agency, by Captain Second Rank V. Urban; place and date not given: "There Is No Longer a KGB in Russia, But There Is an FSA... Major General S. Stepashin Talks About the New Security Service"—first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] From the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA files: By his decree of 26 November B. Yeltsin appointed Viktor Ivanenko general director of the RSFSR Federal Security Agency [FSA] and a Russian minister, as well as his seven deputies. One of them is Major General Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Defense and Security Committee.

At the time of the elections of Russian Federation people's deputies, Stepashin was an instructor at the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Leningrad Political School with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. He is a candidate of historical sciences and a senior lecturer.

On 5 November our newspaper published an interview with him about the work of the parliamentary committee and the State Commission To Investigate the State Security Organs' Activity, of which he was also chairman.

[Urban] Since you are in on the beginning of the FSA's legislative formation, the first question is, naturally, how should the agency differ from the former KGB?

[Stepashin] It is not only a change of name but also a change in the content of work. The Russian president's decree, incidentally, also approves a new structure for the organs of the former KGB, on whose basis the FSA is

being formed. A practically new organization must be created out of what was to some extent a denunciation department, out of a political investigation department. Of course, the traditional functions have remained, as in any other security service—intelligence, counterintelligence.

Regarding other questions, there is, of course, the protection of economic sovereignty and assistance in carrying out economic reform—a very important area. I think that the prospect for developing the agency here will resemble what has already been done in the U.S. FBI.

[Urban] But Sergey Vadimovich, surely there is also the CIA in the States?

[Stepashin] The CIA, as you know, is not concerned with such problems. Yes, our Central Intelligence Service [CIS] (formerly the KGB First Main Directorate) is also a separate organization and has functions different from ours.

[Urban] But, as has already been said, you too will be engaged in intelligence.

[Stepashin] In the form that exists in the current KGB oblast and territorial directorates. We have agreed to have close contacts with Ye. Primakov's intelligence department. The CIS is mostly located on Russian territory and, of course, will act in Russia's interests.

[Urban] What other problems will the FSA be concerned with?

[Stepashin] We retain the tasks of protecting the constitutional system. Of course, not in the way that "protecting the constitutional system" was often carried out in the KGB—not hounding dissidents, but primarily protecting organs of state power, etc.

There is another important point. Despite serious arguments between the MVD and former KGB over who should conduct the struggle against organized crime, we believe that the struggle against corruption and mafia structures should be carried out by the organs of both the MVD and federal security. There cannot be a monopoly here, especially in the current complex transitional period.

[Urban] What are your immediate duties?

[Stepashin] I am a deputy director and simultaneously the chairman of the FSA Petersburg and Oblast Directorate. The chairman of the Moscow Directorate is also a deputy general director.

[Urban] It is well known that inspections were recently carried out in KGB territorial directorates. It was admitted that the situation in them is grave, but, Sergey Vadimovich, how will the former organs acquire a new content?

[Stepashin] That is a separate issue, a complex issue. Therefore I will talk only about Petersburg. A new directorate structure has been prepared. Without going into detail, I will say that it is aimed at taking into account the specific characteristics of the city and oblast as an open economic zone. Ensuring all aspects of security in the functioning of the economic zone is the main task.

[Urban] What will happen to the people?

[Stepashin] I have already said repeatedly that most state security staffers are well trained, skilled people, and when they worked in a specific system, on specific orders, for specific people, it was impossible to talk about self-realization of potential. The manifestation of the best professional qualities—that is what our starting point will be. An influx of young blood is undoubtedly needed. We must proceed toward that. Naturally, the important thing is not age but intelligence, integrity, and competence.

[Urban] In the last interview you said that the fate of military intelligence is not yet decided. What about now?

[Stepashin] Not yet, but I can say that there will be people in the FSA who will deal with military intelligence problems.

[Urban] Your own military intelligence structures?

[Stepashin] Of course. Structures which must know what is being done in the Army. The Army is a very considerable state mechanism, therefore such a service is needed in the FSA.

[Urban] What role is earmarked for the USSR Interrepublic Security Service [ISS] in connection with the Russian agency's creation?

[Stepashin] We believe that it must be a coordinating organ. President M. Gorbachev (and I had a lengthy meeting with him after the State Commission To Investigate the State Security Organs' Activity completed its work) and V. Bakatin believe that the ISS will also have certain operational functions. One can agree with this, but only up to a point. The ISS must not have as many staffers as it has now. ISS operational components are needed when specific questions arise in the republics. These are the struggle against the drug business, terrorism, etc., which cannot be confined within the framework of borders. Consequently, mobile, small, but highly professional components are needed. That is the FSA's position.

[Urban] Incidentally, you promised that the State Commission To Investigate KGB Activity would publish all documents.

[Stepashin] I will explain why this did not happen. The commission was created by decree of M. Gorbachev. After the meeting with him we sent the documents out to the top people in all the republics. It was the USSR president's request that the documents not be published

while the investigation is in progress. The point is that they contain many names and facts which could introduce a certain dissonance into the investigation. It is a serious argument.

[Urban] What can be expected now?

[Stepashin] Our commission will receive a new status. Very soon M. Gorbachev will sign a decree. The commission will deal with the further reorganization of state security organs. It will gain the function of coordinating the elaboration of all laws and documents associated with reform of the system and the state security organs. That is how its tasks can be briefly defined. The work will take until June next year.

[Urban] Will you participate in it?

[Stepashin] Yes. I have been recommended as chairman of this commission. If the decree is signed, work will continue.

Postscript

An unexpected response to S. Stepashin's last interview appeared in STRAZH BALTIKI [Guardian of the Baltic] newspaper. In a conversation with a correspondent of the fleet newspaper Captain First Rank A. Drachenko, chief of the Baltic Fleet Special Section, commented on Stepashin's words—"special sections are no longer needed in the form in which they exist." Anatoliy Pavlovich was worried that "this statement was made not just by a deputy but a person who has been invested with powers and who could really influence decisionmaking."

The special section chief's displeasure was also earned by an item in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA under the headline "A Stroll for Guilders, or How Many Security Officers Are Needed on a Ship Making an Official Visit" (16 October). In Drachenko's opinion, most participants in the visit are unlikely to agree with the opinion of correspondent Captain Second Rank V. Gromak.

Of course any questions can be disputed, but it is surprising that the leader of fleet counterintelligence did not deem it necessary to meet with our permanent correspondent, whose office is a few minutes' walk from the special section. Incidentally, Captain Second Rank V. Gromak himself received only positive reactions to his article. From where then does the negative reaction of "most participants in the cruise" come? The editorial office has simply not received an official reply.

Stepashin curtly replied to the criticism of him. Any person has the right to express his opinion, and regarding special sections, he said, the commission came out unequivocally in favor of changing their functions, just like the functions of all other state security organs.

It will be possible to find out everything else from the published documents relating to the investigation of KGB activity.

Yeltsin Arms Trade Decree Causes Concern

92UF0305A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 49 Dec 91 p 1

[Unattributed untitled article: "For ARGUMENTY I FAKTY Readers Only"]

[Text] More than 2,000 tanks and armored personnel carriers, MiG-29 and Su-27 combat aircraft unique in their capabilities, light cutters, antitank missiles, Kalashnikovs, and many, many other items are on the list of items foreign buyers want to purchase from us. By some calculations the value of this "wish" may be placed at approximately $4 billion a year (about 400 billion rubles).

As is known, B.N. Yeltsin is already "eying" this tasty morsel. His decree proposes to establish a company for military-technical cooperation with foreign countries, or, to put it simply, for arms trade. The "company" is supposed to work on a commercial basis, using intermediaries in its operations when a buyer is too shy to deal directly.

This information from Yeltsin's classified decree came to the attention of a number of Russian lawmakers and caused concern among them. The uncontrollable arms trade has already led to a situation where the universally known surface-to-surface Scud missiles, shipped at some time to North Korea and Libya, "suddenly" turned up in Iraq. What may be the fate of hundreds or thousands of hand-held antiaircraft systems of the American Stinger type, which are eagerly sought after by many buyers?

The other side of the coin is the predicted desire of potential sellers to "line their pockets" on the deals. That it is possible may be surmised from the fact that at a time when the USSR was still flourishing—six or seven years ago—most chiefs of departments engaged in arms sales ended up in the dock.

One of the potential future leaders of the "company," Admiral S. Krasnov, maintains that such fears are exaggerated. The work will start only after the laws on monopoly in the arms trade and control over it are passed. It is planned to publish the so-called "white" and "red" books annually.

The former will contain lists of conventional arms whose sale can be handled as a matter of operational routine. The latter will list the types of armaments whose sale must be approved by the parliament.

The initial producer of the equipment is not forgotten either. His profit will be subject to a 50-60 percent state tax. The rest he can keep.

Our former friends in the socialist camp understood this before we did and are now diligently "slapping together" licensed T-72's, having brought the price down from $1 million to $300,000. Meanwhile, rumor has it that there is almost no food in tank-producing Nizhniy Tagil and Omsk.

Gaydar Reports on Russian Government Meeting

PM1112113191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Sergey Nikitin report: "In the RSFSR Government—Let Us Tighten Our Belts"]

[Text] A routine Russian Government session has been held with Boris Yeltsin chairing the meeting. In accordance with tradition, the results were outlined at the press center by Yegor Gaydar, RSFSR minister of the economy and finances.

The Decree on Liberalizing Prices was discussed and signed last week. Just one detail is lacking—a concrete date for bringing it into force, which mainly depends on how long it will take to coordinate the act with the former union republics and for the Supreme Soviet to adopt a package of laws on a new taxation system. With regard to the former USSR members, they are requesting that the deadline be extended by two or three weeks, but no major objections were raised.

Thus the government has accomplished its mission: It has adopted the resolution "On Reorganizing the System of Taxation for Juridical Persons and RSFSR Citizens," including clauses on value added tax, excise duty, a tax on the profits of enterprises and organizations, and the procedure for deducting and collecting income tax from RSFSR citizens, foreigners, and persons without citizenship.

The chief difference in the proposed model is the totally new structure of potential revenue from taxation for the state, which is strictly index-linked. That is, budget contributions will start to rise in proportion to the rate of inflation. Despite a rise in the overall level of taxation, this will have no effect on the level of production. We—that is, all of us—will have to tighten our belts still further. Otherwise, Gaydar explained, the state's monetary system will collapse like a house of cards under the current monthly price increases of up to 60 percent. The range of social programs proposed by parliament is so sizable that it can only be financed through corresponding taxation contributions.

Two presidential decrees were confirmed at this same government session. The first is "On the RSFSR's United Economic Area" and prohibits all restrictions on the movement of freight across republic territory. That is, all "customs houses" independently erected between certain Russian regions have been declared illegal. The title of the second decree speaks for itself: "On Emergency Measures for Overcoming the Crisis Situation in the Supply of Medicines and Medical Equipment." Already 1.25 billion foreign currency rubles have been earmarked to purchase vitally important products. In addition, henceforth 10 percent of all foreign credits will be allocated annually exclusively for these purposes.

Wage Scale Agreement Signed With Trade Union

924A0287B Moscow TRUD in Russian 5 Dec 91 p 1

[Article by F. Yemchenko: "Miners Received Guarantees: Wage Scale Agreement Signed"]

[Text] **Opening the regular plenum, V. Budko, chairman of the Russian committee of the independent trade unions of workers of the coal industry, reported his important news to the participants.**

"Last night," he said, "a wage scale agreement was signed between the RSFSR Government and the Russian Independent Trade Union of Coal Miners. Deputy Chairman Ye. Gaydar signed on behalf of the Russian Government."

The path to mutual understanding was not easy—it made the victory of the miners, who defended their social interests, that much more valuable, but what was stipulated in the agreement? The length of the work week for those who work underground must not exceed 30 hours. For the rest of the workers it is 40 hours. Overtime work is permitted only in the exceptional cases that are indicated in RSFSR labor legislation.

The state guarantees of minimum scales of pay for the labor of workers engaged in underground operations (taking into account compensation for price increases of goods and services) will be increased starting next year by a factor of 3.425, and for the rest of the workers of the corporation Coal of Russia, by a factor of 2.74. Let us say, for example, that the wage rate of a mine worker of the first category will be no less than 1,000 rubles [R]. The indicated minimum wage rate is subject to revision, with an increase in retail prices for goods and services by 40 and more percent.

The wage scale agreement also stipulates the conditions for granting leave, questions of guaranteeing the employment of workers in the industry, retiring on pension, the payment of monetary awards and compensations, the granting of allowances, and the protection of labor and the health of workers.

The signed document guarantees the right of the Independent Trade Union of Miners of Russia to receive an annual quota for the sale of products for export (100,000 tonnes of coal) in order to cover their own needs for hard currency resources. The trade unions will acquire the indicated volumes of coal for sale in export on a contractual basis.

Simultaneously with the signing of the wage scale agreement, the Russian Committee of Independent Trade Union of Miners introduced its own proposals for changing and supplementing individual laws that are in effect on RSFSR territory.

Local Affairs

Moscow's Popov Comments on Possible Resignation

LD1012155391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1345 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 10 Dec (TASS)—Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov might be forced to resign for health reasons and because of disagreements with the Russian Government over a number of issues regarding the capital's transition to a market economy. Moscow's leader says in an interview published in today's issue of the MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS youth newspaper: "My personal plans are linked to two things: the first is my health. I recently spent some time in the hospital, but if only that were all. There is a second problem: differing interpretations of several difficulties with the Russian Government." Among these problems, Gavriil Popov cited the current ruling on privatization of shops and transfer to Muscovites of land for cultivation. "I have been promising people that I will give them land for vegetable gardens and allotments, but for two years the Russian Government has been feeding me with promises," the mayor said. "Under Russian legislation, a 1,500-square-meter plot will be taxed at 7,500 rubles a year."

"There are numerous disagreements," the Moscow leader added. "Unless they are resolved, it might not be feasible for me to continue my work."

Gavriil Popov categorically rebutted suspicions that he is afraid to fight for his ideas and plans. "I do not have weak nerves, and I am not one of those who are afraid of a struggle," the Mayor said. "I can enter into any confrontation, but there is a limit which, once crossed, amounts to deceiving the electorate. They get the illusion that something is being done because I remain in my job, while in fact it is all heading in the opposite direction."

Smolensk Nuclear Power Plant Reactor Shut Down

LD0712053491 Moscow TASS in English 0954 GMT 6 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—Reactor No. 3 at the Smolensk nuclear power plant was shut down at 6:08 A.M. on Friday [6 December] after it exhibited a marked change in performance during a planned restart, the press service of the Soviet Ministry of the Nuclear Power Industry said.

The press service said there has been no change in the level of radioactivity in the reactor room but gave no further details.

The reactor is now being cooled down.

No Evidence of Laboratory Found Near Irkutsk

LD0812154391 Moscow TASS in English 1139 GMT 8 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Khodiy]

[Text] Irkutsk December 8 TASS—"There is no information which would directly or indirectly indicate that the secret military laboratory, through the fault of which an outbreak of anthrax occurred in 1979, is now located near Irkutsk," Mikhail Savchenkov, deputy chairman of the East Siberian branch of the Academy of Medical Sciences, told TASS.

He is heading a commission specially set up by the local administration to check a report that appeared in the press at the end of November that the laboratory had been relocated from Sverdlovsk to the Transbaykal area.

"A check-up carried out through military and civilian channels confirmed that there has been no research team for the development of bacteriological weapons in the area in the past and present," the commission head said.

However, this does not rule out the necessity of making an official inquiry at the Defence Ministry and the Government of Russia into the further destiny of the super-secret laboratory.

Irkutsk Local Administrators Seek Confirmation

PM1012143791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Dec 91 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Appointments"]

[Text] In accordance with a Russian presidential decree, Yuriy Nozhikov, leader of the Irkutsk Oblast administration, has appointed the first heads of local executive authorities. The overwhelming majority are currently chairmen of city and rayon soviet executive committees. They must obtain prior approval for the new appointments from the deputies of the corresponding administrative territories.

Dudayev Forbids Issuing Law, Order Information

LD0912190791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Text] Dzhakhar Dudayev, president of the Chechen Republic, has prohibited the issue of information on the state of law and order in the republic, and in particular the issue of such information to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Procuracy of Russia.

At the same time, news agencies have learned that up to 20 armed attacks take place every day in Groznyy on auto owners and citizens' apartments. There has also been an increase in clashes with members of the national guard from whom weapons are seized, and people are being kidnapped.

Interior Ministry on Checheno-Ingushetia

OW1012005291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 9 Dec 91

[From "Bulletin 3"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Interior Ministry said that the Chechen leader Dzhakhar Dudayev, in an effort to cover

up what is taking place in the Chechen-Ingush republic, banned releasing any information to the Interior Ministry and the Russian Procurator's Office about the crime situation in the republic.

According to the statement, the RSFSR Interior Ministry regards it as its duty to report through mass media that crime is rampant in the republic. The city of Grozny sees up to 20 holdups a day. Clashes with the "national guards" are increasingly frequent, and criminals take away their arms. Several people have been kidnapped.

"The RSFSR Interior Ministry knows what the situation is like even without Dudayev's cooperation," says the statement. "The information we are receiving indicates that Dudayev cannot organize control of the existing structures and five regions in the republic have totally gone out of his control."

Tatar President Granted Additional Powers

PM0912151791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Dec 91 p 2

[Correspondent M. Zaripov report: "President Requests Powers"]

[Text] Kazan—A little over a year after the proclamation of the republic's sovereignty the red, green, and white flag approved by parliamentary deputies as the republic's national flag has been raised over the Tatarstan Supreme Soviet building.

Another important decision: The law on the indexation of the population's incomes passed its first reading. The minimum wage level for citizens will be set at 200 rubles. Each rise in free prices, some of which will supposedly increase severalfold, is to be accompanied by equivalent wage raises.

It has been decided to submit the land question for nationwide discussion. Inhabitants of Tatarstan will now have to answer two questions in the referendum: In what capacity will the republic join the Union of Sovereign States—as an autonomous, independent state or as a subject of the Russian Federation—and should private ownership of land be introduced or not?

President of Tatarstan M. Shaymiyev was given additional powers until January 1993.

President Abolishes Food Export From Tatarstan

OW1112122191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1129 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The President of Tatarstan passed a decree on measures to ensure rational utilization of food resources which abolishes massive exports of food from Tatarstan. The decree applies to all ministries, departments, enterprises, state and collective farms and other organizations located in Tatarstan, irrespective of their affiliation, and to all citizens, as well.

The police were given the right to examine the means of transportation, as well as the luggage of the passengers leaving the republic.

The decree will be in force till July 1, 1992.

Belgorod Administration Chief on Reforms

PM1012160791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Dec 91 p 2

[Unnamed TASS correspondent report: "In Expectation of Reforms"]

[Text] Belgorod—RSFSR People's Deputy Viktor Berestovoy, appointed head of the administration of Belgorod Oblast by the Russian president, commenced his duties yesterday. Prior to this appointment he had been working as chairman of the oblast soviet and acting chairman of its executive committee.

"I see my basic task in the new post," he told your TASS correspondent in a conversation, "as being to stabilize the situation in the oblast and to ensure that people enjoy normal living conditions—conditions like those of two or three years ago, when all links of the agro-industrial complex were working successfully in the oblast—by consolidating the efforts of all society's forces. Now the situation has become very difficult, agricultural output is falling, and people's standard of living is consequently on the decline. If improvement is to be achieved, the economic reforms proposed by the Russian leadership must be resolutely pushed forward."

Novgorod City Communist Organization Founded

PM1112101891 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 91 p 2

[Correspondent Yu. Smulskiy report: "From Meeting to Congress"]

[Text] Novgorod—A city organization of the Russian Communist Workers Party has been established in Novgorod. A meeting at the "Dialog" sociopolitical center was attended by envoys from production associations that are well known in and outside the oblast, including "Volna," "Planeta," "Kvant," and "Elkon," and other enterprises and construction and transportation units.

The main thing today, the participants in the meeting stressed, is to publicize the aims and tasks of the new

movement and the documents adopted at the founding congress of the Russian Communist Workers Party in Yekaterinburg. Particular attention was devoted to work among young people.

Immediately after the meeting, preparations began for a city congress of workers, which it was decided to hold in mid-December.

Tyumen Oil Not Sold Following Export Ban

PM1012145591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Report from the "News" column: "Not a Single Tonne of Oil Sold"]

[Text] The latest auctions at the Tyumen Commodity Stock Exchange did not produce a single deal on the sale of oil, even though a large amount was on offer at prices ranging from 1,700 to 1,800 rubles a tonne. In many ways, this situation is linked with the enforcement of Boris Yeltsin's decree prohibiting the export of oil across Russian borders. Previously, massive deals worth hundreds of millions of rubles were concluded by purchasers from the former union republics.

Yekaterinburg Official on Food Situation

OW1012134191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1150 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking on local radio on Monday [9 December], Viktor Chepulianis, the Yekaterinburg Executive Committee's deputy chairman in charge of food supplies, said that the food situation in the city was critical, and that spontaneous expressions of discontent might be expected. According to Chepulianis, this was a result of severed economic ties among various regions, and the unwillingness of agricultural areas in Russia and other republics to sell food products to Yekaterinburg for "wooden" rubles.

Mr. Chepulianis said only 80 tons of butter (of the necessary minimum of 350 tons) were left in the city till the end of the month. There was not enough butter even for hospitals and childcare centers. The expected delivery of 3,000 tons of sugar would hardly be sufficient to ensure the uninterrupted work of local bakeries and confectioneries. "As regards sugar, our only hope is Germany which promised to supply it in the framework of humanitarian aid," said V. Chepulianis. "The 50 tons of vegetable oil to be delivered to the city is an amount unable even to cover the residents' coupons. Flour, cereals and macaroni are also in short supply."

Interrepublic Affairs

Leaders Comment on Commonwealth Pact

PM1012165591 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 10 Dec 91 p 1

[Correspondent Vasiliy Roshchin report, incorporating "brief interviews" with Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk, Belarussian Supreme Soviet Chairman S. Shushkevich, and RSFSR First Deputy Chairman G. Burbulis, given in the Viskuli residence after the signing of the Commonwealth of Independent States Agreement: "'Peace of Brest' 1991"]

[Text] Minsk—Again, just as unexpectedly as during April's political strikes, the Republic of Belarus, ordinarily indifferent in the sensations department, has become a place of pilgrimage for the Soviet and foreign press. The epicenter of public attention shifted there directly after RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin's arrival to sign a bilateral treaty and an economic agreement between Russia and Belarus. There would have been nothing unusual in this procedure, had it not been for the visit of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, timed to coincide with this meeting.

The protocol part of this event passed off without any complications. On 7 December Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin addressed deputies, leaders of state institutions, and economists in the hall of the Belarus Republic Supreme Soviet. Having noted that Russia and Belarus have common roots, similar languages, and good understanding, the Russian president touched on the question of the future of the Union.

Observers focused their attention on the following statements in his speech: "The attempt to revive the USSR in a Leninist interpretation is history. The republics have refused to delegate the level of powers to the center which it wanted from them. The idea of a semi-federation, semi-confederation has failed. And if even a small element of unitarianism is kept, then the risk of a revival of the system which has brought us to this impasse remains... The presence of a center and its possible revival frightens everyone." In response to the question whether the fate of the Union would be discussed in Brest without the participation of the center, the Russian president said only: "We will have no fewer than four or five options for its structure. We will discuss them. For me to presuppose something in advance now would be unethical with regard to the heads of two other states."

The press center in the republic Supreme Soviet stood idle for more than 24 hours in anticipation of reports from the government's Viskuli residence. You could only wonder at the patience and endurance of the foreign journalists, who would not leave the telephones for a minute. Only around 2100 did the fax begin to operate in Stanislav Shushkevich's waiting room. And the first tape was received from Brest: the text of the signed agreement on the Commonwealth of Independent States. The whole world at once learned of the "troika" decision from the lips of the excellently equipped correspondents. We could only be left somewhat aggrieved that we, alas, will be the last to find out about events in our republic and the country. Finally, at midnight, a Belarussian Television newscaster appeared on the screen, and in an uncertain voice read out all the documents adopted in Brest. But our newspapers would not be coming out until 10 December....

At aircraft steps, during movements on foot, and in recesses in the delegations' work we journalists, in spite of the stubborn "exclusion" of the press, nevertheless occasionally managed to get hold of a brief interview at least. Here is what the leaders of the states who signed the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] (will we ever get used to that abbreviation?) agreement in the Viskuli residence told us.

Leonid Kravchuk: "A new interstate association has been created, which is to be called the Commonwealth of Independent States. Its principles are: All are independent, all are equal, all agree that common questions are to be coordinated and a coordinating structure will be set up—it will be small, with its center in Minsk."

Stanislav Shushkevich: "We have adopted very important documents. It is not long since everyone was saying with alarm: 'What kind of Union can there be without the Ukraine?'"

Gennadiy Burbulis: "A historic event has taken place. Again, as in 1922, three republics have become the initial members of a new union. This is the road toward solving all problems—both theoretical and economic. It can only be regretted that we have taken so long to reach this as a result of the center's hypocrisy and undistinguished policy."

In the lobbies of the meeting the Russian deputy prime minister was asked about the place and role of the USSR president in the new situation. Gennadiy Burbulis said: "We are not casting any doubt on Gorbachev's merits. We are talking about something totally different—the fact that there is an overdue requirement to make a constructive decision for the good of all. We cannot be dependent on anyone's personal fate, even Mikhail Sergeyevich's. That is why this decision gives a legal status [oformleniye] to virtually all the structures of the former center and thereby abolishes them. All talented people willing and able to work for the good of their peoples will find a place for themselves, including a place in our structures."

Leaders Call For Peaceful Solution in Moldova

PM1012124991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

["Statement on Events in the Republic of Moldova"]

[Text] The heads of state of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, and Belarus, at a meeting held in the Republic

of Belarus, express serious concern at the latest events in the Republic of Moldova. We are convinced that all contentious issues in that republic, including questions concerning the observance of national minorities' rights, should be resolved by peaceful means in accordance with generally recognized norms of international law and the CSCE documents. Such a solution would be in accord with the fundamental interests of people of all nationalities living in Moldova and would help to normalize the situation in the region.

The participants in the meeting urge the sides to come to the negotiating table to settle the disagreements which have arisen.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

L. Kravchuk, president of Ukraine

S. Shushkevich, chairman of the Republic of Belarus Supreme Soviet

Belarus

Parliament Ratifies Commonwealth Agreement

LD1012183391 Moscow TASS in English 1810 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Minsk December 10 BELTA-TASS—The Belorussian parliament on Tuesday [10 December] afternoon ratified by a constitutional majority the agreement on the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Voting had been preceded by a close examination of the texts and a thorough discussion of all documents signed by the three republican leaders here two days ago.

Speakers approved the provision denouncing the 1922 treaty of the Soviet Union as inconsistent with modern realities and proclaimed it null and void in Belorussia.

The decision went into force from the moment of its adoption.

The parliament's standing commissions were instructed to analyse all proposals made by deputies in the discussion so as to approve them on Wednesday [11 December] as a supplement to the ratification instrument.

Shushkevich Comments on Commonwealth Agreement

LD1012185191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1645 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Another report has come in from Minsk. In the capital of Belarus today the seventh session of the republican Supreme Soviet resumed work after a long break. Aleksey Zhuk and Petr Makritskiy, our correspondents in Minsk, report:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] The session was opened by Supreme Soviet Chairman Stansilav Shushkevich, who gave a report on the results of the meeting of the leaders of Belarus, the Russian Federation, and the Ukraine. Addressing the deputies, he said that the time for such a meeting had come. You yourselves, said Stanislav Shushkevich, could see how the talks on preparing a new Union treaty had reached an impasse. Against this backdrop social tension was increasing in many regions of the former Union, leading to interethnic conflicts.

Stanislav Shushkevich held a news conference an hour before the session opened. He noted that the Commonwealth of Independent States was democratic and was open to other former republics of the former Union and other states.

[Shushkevich] Did Gorbachev know about our meeting? Of course he knew. Mikhail Sergeyevich scheduled a meeting of the State Council for the exact date, 6 December, when we were supposed to meet. Our meeting was therefore delayed for one day. We lost one day, but we did one more night's work.

Will the single monetary unit last very long? Shakhray spoke yesterday about subscribing to the European ECU [European currency unit]. In 1992 all the parties to the agreement will undertake not to introduce new monetary units—that is, different monetary units. Naturally, this does not rule out each party to the agreement making preparations. I would put it like this: There will not be any brigandage in the financial sphere. Actions will be coordinated, so the people no longer need to fear. These reports that the Ukraine is printing and is about to introduce, that Russia is printing and is about to introduce.... [changes thought] We exchanged opinions on this totally openly, and I state once again that the sides assured each other that there will not be any uncoordinated actions in this sphere.

Therefore, I think new monetary units will be delayed for quite a long time. If the sides agree that someone needs their own units, then they will be introduced. But they will not be introduced in such a way as to dump an avalanche of devalued currency onto one's neighbor, because in this age it is necessary to work by civilized methods. The sides confirmed this.

Is it necessary for parliament to confirm the decision? Undoubtedly. This is a sufficiently serious decision. I think it requires a legal analysis and certain mutually agreed upon corrections, and it should be prepared for ratification in the most serious fashion. But the important thing at this time is not to confirm the rules and to start playing by them tomorrow. The important thing is to approve the idea itself.

We do not see the solution on the path chosen by the president of the USSR. I do not see a solution without the Ukraine. We are very sorry, but the Ukraine is not turning up. There is a difference with the Ukraine, and it is necessary to respect this.

[Correspondent] The leader of the Belarus parliament said he would present the approach taken by the leaders of the three states to be judged by the Supreme Soviet. The decision of the peoples deputies would make it possible for him to hold subsequent discussions at the State Council in Moscow.

The parliamentarians exhibited their attitudes regarding the agreement on the Commonwealth of Independent States. At the morning session they discussed questions of transferring the responsibilities for the State Security Committee, holidays, and the Communist Party of Belarus. The Supreme Soviet resolved that the property of the Communist Party of Belarus should be declared republican property. [end recording]

We received the preceding report this afternoon. And now I repeat once again the very latest news from Minsk: The Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus, by a constitutional majority—263 deputies for, one against, and two abstentions—ratified the agreement on the commonwealth of independent states. Today the Belarus parliament denounced the 1922 treaty establishing the USSR.

On New Union, Proposal to Republics

LD1012161291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1305 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By BELTA-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kryzhanovskiy]

[Text] Minsk, 10 Dec (TASS)—Belarus does not see the prospect of concluding the Union treaty as lying along the path chosen by the center, Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Belarus, said at a news conference today.

The prospects for the convocation of an extraordinary USSR Congress of People's Deputies are doubtful, in the opinion of Shushkevich. "I do not think that it is a serious proposal to convene today a congress for the sake of preserving the presidential structure. Representatives of the Ukraine will not come, nor will the majority of Russians, nor a considerable part of Belorussians, neither," he said.

The leader of the parliament of Belarus noted that the new union should not be regarded as a purely Slavonic commonwealth. That, he stressed, is not the "Solzhenitsyn variant." We do not have any racial, national, or religious restrictions. Our commonwealth is open to all.

Shushekvich reported that he has already put forward a proposal on behalf of the "troika" to all the remaining subjects of the former Union to associate themselves with the agreement or to express their opinion on the possible conditions for association with it.

On 'Reliable Control' of Nuclear Arms

LD1012162591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 10 Dec 91

["Television News Service" report by correspondent A. Zhuk from Minsk]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Just before the opening of the Belarus Supreme Soviet session, the chairman of the Belarus parliament held a news conference. He declared that the Commonwealth of Independent States is open for the other republics of the former Union, and not just for former republics, but also for other independent states.

Stanislav Shushkevich commented that the leaders of the three independent states that held these negotiations in Belarus agreed to hold further meetings and negotiations. There is a series of problems to be resolved, a series of urgent problems connected with the development of relations both in the economy and in politics. A major political issue is at stake here: how we are to live in the future.

A question was asked about what is to happen to nuclear weapons—Was this discussed at the meeting of the troika? Stanislav Shushkevich replied that yes, it was discussed. But he said confidently: Nuclear weapons are under reliable control [kontrol], and the changes that have taken place will ensure even more reliable security throughout the world.

On 'Shortsighted Policy' of Center

LD1012162991 Moscow TASS in English 1246 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Minsk December 10 TASS—The shortsighted policy of the old Soviet centre has resulted in a general political and economic crisis. The three Slav republics had to work out their own concept to end the stagnation, Stanislav Shushkevich, Belarus parliamentary speaker, who signed the new commonwealth agreement on Sunday [8 December], told the republican parliament today.

The absence of Union structures does not mean Belarus will ignore legal acts of the former Soviet Union, which are not listed in the republican legislature, Shushkevich told the parliament. For the first time this session opened with Lenin's bust removed from the hall.

On Precedent for Gorbachev Resignation

LD1012134591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] A routine session of the Belarus parliament is continuing in Minsk. However, Stanislav Shushkevich, head of the Belarus Supreme Soviet, gathered journalists together this morning for a news conference. Here's our Minsk correspondent, Leonid Sviridov, with the details:

[Begin Sviridov recording] The chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus told journalists that all the republics of the former USSR should now be addressed so that they might join the agreement on a Commonwealth of Independent States. In Shushkevich's opinion, the Baltic states—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—might join the new commonwealth. How might this happen? The most important thing is that the Baltic states have agreed in principle to this step. As for Ivan Silayev's structure, the chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet sees nothing that could undercut the structure headed by Silayev in the documents signed at Miloverskaya Pushcha, and no changes are being made to the Interstate Economic Committee.

Stanislav Shushkevich explained his absence in Moscow at the State Council session by saying: I can only go to Moscow if the Belarus parliament supports me. In response to a question asking for his assessment of Baker's statement that the collapse of the USSR could lead to war, the Belarus leader said: Collapse, yes, that could lead to war, but we are, in fact, for a commonwealth of states.

In Stanislav Shushkevich's opinion, USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev himself buried the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. He said: The lack of a congress guaranteed him the president's seat for five years. However, the chairman of the Belarus parliament is a supporter of the congress. He noted: True, there may not be a quorum—Ukraine is not going, some of the Russians and Belarussians are not going either—but if the Congress is convened, it will dot all the i's.

He stated that at one time we all heard about Gorbachev not leaving the post of general secretary, but times have changed; Gorbachev resigned from the post of general secretary of the CPSU. We have also heard this in regard to the post of USSR president, but the times have once again changed. The very latest news is that the Belarus Supreme Soviet has adopted a decision on nationalization of the assets of the Communist Party of Belorussia and the CPSU. [end recording]

New Communist Party Ends Founding Congress

LD1012164891 Moscow TASS in English 1613 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By BELTA-TASS correspondent Valentin Menshikov]

[Text] Minsk December 10 TASS—"If the activities of the Communist Party of Belorussia are not resumed, or if it is liquidated, the party of Belorussian communists will be its legal successor", says the resolution on the new party's foundation, adopted by its constituent congress, which ended here today. The party's programme also expresses support to the Union treaty.

The rules of the new party show that its purpose is to rally and politically educate hired labourers in order to rid the society of all forms of exploitation. The party's task is formulated in the following way: "To foster political, legal and economic conditions, necessary for society's transformation."

The congress elected the party's Political Executive Committee, which, in turn, is to elect the party's chairman and his deputy.

Retail Sales Restricted to Residents

LD0612052991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 5 Dec 91

[Text] A system of selling all goods only to inhabitants of Belarus has been introduced in the republic. In accordance with a resolution by the Belarussian Council of Ministers, lists, coupons, identification cards, and a compulsory checking of internal passports will be used to implement this goal.

Moldova

Leader on Minsk Accord, Gagauz Relations

LD1112114991 Kishinev Radio Kishinev Network in Russian 0700 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Interview with Moldovan President Mircea Ion Snegur by unidentified correspondent in Kishinev on 10 Dec—recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] First of all, on behalf of the many thousands of listeners, of radio listeners of our program, I want to congratulate you on your election as president and wish you success in this field.

[Snegur] A big thanks to you and to all the listeners, the majority of whom supported, voted to elect me president of the republic.

[Correspondent] And now for a question. I would like to know what your first steps, as the saying goes, will be in your post as president elected by the whole people? What decisions and what decrees will be adopted? That is to say, what issues will be decided, first of all?

[Snegur] The issues are the most diverse, connected with the foreign political activity of our state and domestic policy, too. Well, in the first place, a trip to meet the leaders of the three Slav states who recently signed the agreement in Belarussia on the formation of a commonwealth is being contemplated. That trip pursues the aim of studying the question from the point of view of our bilateral ties with these republics, all the more so since the agreement of the republics shows that these ties are difficult now, (?have become exacerbated) [passage indistinct] and that means a lot, because raw materials and materials [passage indistinct]

As far as domestic policy is concerned, I think that to guarantee more productive [word indistinct] work by parliament and other bodies, we should complete the

work as quickly as possible on the draft of the new constitution, discuss it in parliament, and propose it to the people for discussion through a referendum. Well, the fact of the matter is that the formation of a new professional parliament is being contemplated here, the division of legislative, executive, and judicial power and so forth. That is to say, a document is needed in which our republic would be affirmed legally as a sovereign state. The most immediate work, which has almost begun, is the adoption of decrees and resolutions preparing us in the republic for the transition to the market economy. That is decrees and resolutions. We will proceed along parallel lines, and I think that in a while, once I have been sworn in, our parliament will probably have to be asked for additional powers in order to carry out the reform more quickly. We are working along these lines now with the supreme economic council, [words indistinct] with the [word indistinct] committee for carrying out economic reform. Of course, the most important thing is to continue the search to find ways and means to resolve the question of satisfying people's demands for consumer goods, foodstuffs, and so forth. (?There is a separate strategy) but there should also be economic measures to satisfy today's demands, as the saying goes.

[Correspondent] Another question regarding the Left Bank and the Gagauz. They showed their true face once again on 8 December, the day of the elections, when they blockaded (word indistinct), hindered the holding of the elections, hindered the electorate from voting for the true president.

[Snegur] You know, I am still sticking to my opinion. With regard to the people, we must preserve our kindness towards them; the people are frightened; (?there is the possibility of battle among military units, the recoil of weapons) and so forth. But in any event, I intend [words indistinct], and just as the leaders of the three Slav republics proposed talks and so forth, I will try to resolve all these questions by peaceful means and without any complication, without any [words indistinct].

I will make a further proposal. I will appeal to their leaders, to the separatists, for reason. But well, if that does not help, then of course, we will be forced to take tougher measures, in accordance with the Constitution, in accordance with the law. But nevertheless, I think that with the help of the people inhabiting these regions (?we shall overcome).

I became convinced during the preelection meetings that everybody is fed up with such a separatist policy, that everybody wants peace, everybody wants [words indistinct] irrespective of nationality, irrespective of profession, irrespective of where they work, and so on and so forth. I think that the results of the elections also showed that desire. And if the people want that, then we will appeal to the people. I think that we will break that separatism, both from within and without. Even my kindness, my patience is not endless.

On Independence, Commonwealth

OW1112030791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2102 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mircea Snegur's first decrees as president of Moldova will be orders on education, public health services, culture, and the minimum wage. He announced this at a press conference December 10th in Kishinev.

The Moldovan president was in favour of further integration with Romania. "In a political sense," Snegur said, "one must start by accepting reality, and most of all the will of the people. And the people's will today is for an independent Moldova. We will exist as two states which speak one language."

With regard to radical economic reforms, the president noted that their continuation will be furthered by national agreement and a package of laws on privatization, price liberalization, formation of a banking system and the introduction of their own national monetary unit.

Mircea Snegur thinks that the solution to the conflict between the inhabitants of the right and left banks of the Dnestr lies in using reason and making political decisions.

Estimating the meeting in Minsk of the leaders of Belarus, Ukraine and Russia, Snegur remarked that the agreements are very important documents most of all for those republics. He emphasized that the decision of Yeltsin, Kravchuk and Shushkevich to create a commonwealth of independent states testifies that "the Soviet Union de facto does not exist." With regard to Moldova, the republic is in favour of an economic commonwealth not only with Slavic states, but with other former union republics.

Snegur To Visit Moscow, Kiev, Minsk

OW1112035391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2102 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "IF" [INTERFAX] has learned from sources close to the Moldovan president that Mircea Snegur plans to travel to Moscow, Kiev and Minsk by the end of this week. He intends to meet with the leaders of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, which have entered into a commonwealth of independent states, to discuss issues of Moldova's further economic cooperation with these republics. During meetings with Russian President Yeltsin, Ukrainian President Kravchuk, and Belarus leader Shushkevich, the Moldovan President also intends to discuss the problem of the removal of parts of the Soviet army from the republic.

Presidential Election Final Results Reported

LD1012134491 Kishinev Radio Kishinev Network in Russian 0700 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] The final results of the nationwide elections for the president of Moldova, which took place on 8 December, were announced at press conference yesterday by the central electoral commission.

Vladimir Kiktenko, chairman of the commission, told journalists that 2,347,364 people were registered to vote: 1,945,533 people voted, which amounted to 82.88 percent; 1,909,995 of the electorate voted for Mircea Snegur, or 98.17 percent; 34,867 people voted against him, or 1.79 percent.

Kiktenko noted that because of obstacles in the way of holding the elections on the left bank of the Dnestr and in the south of Moldova, inhabited by the Gagauz population, around 600,000 voters were not included in the vote. He stressed that in previous elections for people's deputies of the republic, 2.9 million were registered to vote, whereas this time there were only 2,347,364 voters. Proceeding from this, Mircea Snegur gained 67 percent of the votes of the overall number of the electorate. That is substantial proof that the president was elected by the whole people.

In reply to journalists' questions, members of the electoral commission stressed that they did not possess documents testifying to any violations during the elections. Only in Pridnestrovye were attempts made by supporters of the so-called Pridnestrovskaya republic to hinder the elections and to picket the polling stations. Nevertheless, over half of the inhabitants of Pridnestrovye took part in the elections. As for the violation of human rights by separatists' supporters who tried to hinder the free expression of the will of citizens, observers from the sovereign republics and from abroad will present their conclusions. They will meet with the leadership of the republic today.

Dumitriu Korletianu, chief of the press service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Moldova, spoke of interference by servicemen from units of the Soviet Army in the internal affairs of sovereign Moldova and of what the leadership is doing to avert these provocations.

Vladimir Kiktenko, chairman of the central electoral commission, reported at the news conference on the summing up of the results of the presidential elections held on 8 December that the People's Front of Moldova did not make any claims to the commission connected with the course of the voting. He noted that no actions were undertaken by the opposition with a view to hindering the electorate in taking part in the elections of the president of the republic. At the same time, a number of observers from the RSFSR think that in some populated areas of the left bank, voters were concerned by statements of People's Front of Moldova leaders on the eve of the elections. Another category of citizens are indignant at the presence of separatists armed with submachine guns which may be assessed as a violation of the constitution of the republic of Moldova.

Nikolay Isayev, a specialist in the administration of the RSFSR and member of the group of observers, expressed regret over the fact that polling stations were not set up in all villages and rayons of Pridnestrovye. That gave rise to discontent in the ranks of the electorate, who were forced to travel to neighboring villages to exercise their constitutional right.

Having visited polling stations of the republic, the group of observers from the Russian Federation noted that the law on the election of the president of the Republic of Moldova had been observed, Nikolay Isayev stressed.

Here is the opinion of the group of observers from Kyrgyzstan: The elections were held in accordance with the existing law—this is how (Kanambek Dzhamankulov), people's deputy of Kyrgyzstan, characterized the course of the presidential elections in the republic of Moldova in Orkheyskiy, Rezinskiy, and other rayons visited by members of the group of observers from Kyrgyzstan. No violations of the rights of the electorate were uncovered.

In their active participation in the elections, the people of the Republic of Moldova displayed genuine patriotism. In the opinion of our observers, the deputy noted, the Russian-speaking population of villages and rayon centers which we visited identified themselves totally with the local population of the republic. We think that the elections passed in accordance with the legislation. On behalf of the entire group, (Kanambek Dzhamankulov) wished Mircea Snegur, elected president by the whole people, good health and great successes in the matter of achieving the effective independence of the republic.

Border Disputes To Be Settled Peacefully

LD1112071191 Moscow TASS in English 1158 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Kishinev December 10 TASS—Moldavia will settle territorial problems with Ukraine by agreements and diplomacy, George Gimpu, member of the Human Rights Commission of the Moldavian parliament, told the "INDEPENDENT MOLDOVA" newspaper today.

The Helsinki agreement provides for both the inviolability of borders and their redrawing as long as all countries involved agree, he said.

The issue of unification with Romania is not on the agenda today, as one and a half million non-Moldavians living in the Republic are against it, Gimpu explained. He admitted that some Moldavians do not want it either and world public opinion is not ready to accept the unification.

Ukraine

Parliament Ratifies Commonwealth Agreement

LD1012173491

[Editorial report] Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian at 1622 GMT on 10 December carries a three-minute report from Kiev by correspondent Vladimir Sokolov. He opens by saying that the Ukrainian parliament has ratified the agreement reached in Minsk. Sokolov goes on: Addressing people's deputies, Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk emphasized that this important agreement was made necessary by the political and economic situation, which has become more complicated, and especially by the attempts to conclude a new Union treaty, attempts which have reached an impasse. The treaty, as he put it, was aimed in practical terms at restoring the centralized state.

The task before us, the president said, is to stop the process of spontaneous disintegration of the Union structures, but now we are accused of breaking up the Union. However, he said, this break-up began to make itself felt from the inception of perestroyka, and we know who the authors of that are. It is first and foremost Gorbachev's ill thought-out and at times dangerous moves that have proved instrumental here.

By way of corroborating this, Leonid Kravchuk critically dissected the entire process of political developments in the country since the start of perestroyka, the center's blunders in economic policies, and he emphasized yet again that, as he put it, what remains of the center currently fails to take account of political realities, hopelessly striving to restore the centralized state, disguised though it may be. All this, he continued, brought about social upheavals which various forces are ready to make use of; it brought about economic collapse and instability which frightens other states in the world. The agreement concluded in Belorussia is underpinned, Kravchuk stated, by the will of the peoples and the laws adopted in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus and is in keeping with all international norms.

Sokolov continues by saying that the ratification of the agreement was put to a vote without discussion, although deputies tried to not only discuss this issue, but also to have a closed sitting devoted to it. By a majority of votes, a decision was passed to ratify the agreement adopted on behalf of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus to create a Commonwealth of Independent States. The decision is accompanied by some remarks which, incidentally, do not change the essence of the provisions of this agreement.

Sokolov concludes his report by saying that the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet today ratified the treaty on the principles of interstate relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Uzbekistan. Laws were also passed: One law states that international treaties will be binding on the territory of the Ukraine. A law on foreign investments was passed. Amendments are to be introduced into the law on investment activity. The sitting has just finished.

Kravchuk Comments on Commonwealth Agreement

LD1012145691 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Today in Kiev, the president of Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk, gave a press conference for Ukrainian and foreign journalists in connection with the signing of an agreement on a commonwealth of independent states—Ukraine, Belarus, and the Russian Federation. It is registered in the agreement on the commonwealth of three independent states that the USSR as a state subject of international law and geopolitical reality has ceased to exist.

The sides guarantee their citizens, regardless of nationality, equal rights and freedoms. The sides shall develop equal mutually advantageous cooperation of their nations and states in the fields of politics, economy, culture, education, health protection, environmental protection, science, and trade. The sides recognize and respect territorial integrity of one another and inviolability of the existing borders. They guarantee open borders, free movement of citizens, and transmission of information within the framework of the commonwealth. State members of the commonwealth will cooperate in ensuring peace and security, the elimination of all nuclear weapons. They will preserve and maintain under a joint command the general military strategic space, including a single control over nuclear weapons.

After a brief information on the essence of the signed documents, journalists posed many questions to Leonid Kravchuk. Did Leonid Kravchuk hold consultations with the leaders of other states of the former union, in particular the president of Kazakhstan, Nazarbayev? Leonid Kravchuk, in part, replied: We talked with Nazarbayev; we sent him the document by fax, said Leonid Kravchuk. His response was positive, and he stated that he must hold consultations in the Republic before he could take a final decision. We also decided to send the text of the agreement to all republics of the former union, the Baltic states included. We did not limit ourselves to a national framework. This commonwealth is to open up the road to prosperity, democracy, and radical democratic and economic transformations.

There were also questions on the preparation to the signing of these agreements and the response of Mikhail Gorbachev. Here is what Leonid Kravchuk answered: There is no secret that there were preliminary talks between Boris Yeltsin and Gorbachev, and I myself had a long conversation with him. During these talks, I said that Ukraine will never sign a decree which forces a state over states. Mikhail Gorbachev forwarded a concept of a confederative state instead of a confederation. Confederation in the classical form does not envisage any state over the states which make up the confederation. This

was just a confusion, and everybody understands that under the pretext of a confederation, an attempt is being made to set up a centralized state, said Leonid Kravchuk.

Running on the legitimacy of the given agreement, Leonid Kravchuk said the following: We acted in accordance with our plenary powers, our constitutions, our status of independent states that have the full right to sign agreements and alliances, which we did without violating our constitutions, international, legal, and other norms, said Leonid Kravchuk.

We continue our report from the press conference given by Ukraine's president, Leonid Kravchuk, in Kiev. One of the correspondents asked Leonid Kravchuk why there were no consultations with people of the parliament of Ukraine prior to negotiations in Minsk. The parliament's sovereignty was not infringed upon because the agreement is still to be ratified by parliament of Ukraine. Tomorrow, deputies will discuss the documents and express their opinion. This agreement does not restrict the right of every country to act in compliance with the adopted resolutions and laws. It does not confine or determine our actions as sovereign states. It is not the union treaty which would have centralized bodies of power, government, which would adopt their resolutions and their laws and legal acts. There will be only a coordinating body. As for Ukraine, it will live in compliance with its own legal acts, answered Leonid Kravchuk.

The journalists were also interested to know which countries could join the Commonwealth. Any country could do it; I think Kazakhstan and the Baltic Republics can join us, maybe some other foreign countries. Any country which will join us will do the right choice and will have good prospects for its development and the development of its economy, said Leonid Kravchuk. The question from Radio Kiev dealt with the reports by the mass media to the effect that today the leaders of Ukraine, Russia, Moldova, and Kazakhstan were to meet with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow; but Leonid Kravchuk did not go to Moscow. Why? And secondly, what role was given to Mikhail Gorbachev to play by the meeting's participants? Leonid Kravchuk said the following: I wanted to go to Moscow and meet with Mikhail Gorbachev and with the members of the State Council if need be to officially expound my stand so as to put an end to all misinterpretations. I wanted to hold a press conference in Ukraine's permanent representation and inform the entire world about the outcome of our meeting in Minsk. But it so happened that we entrusted Boris Yeltsin to meet with Mikhail Gorbachev today and comment on the documents we adopted and also answer the questions. Boris Yeltsin fulfilled his mission, and as far as the place of the USSR president is concerned, we did not discuss the issue because it was not our concern, answered the president of Ukraine.

One of the questions was formulated as follows: What measures can Gorbachev resort to in response to the Minsk meeting? As a politician, I consider that he can convene the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and submit the question for their consideration. Another way is the president's possible appeal to people. The third possibility is to discuss at a congress or session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR—although it is not a full-fledged body anymore—the question on holding a third referendum; but this is not tangible because the results of the latest referendum cannot be abrogated. Ukraine has become an independent state and seceded from the Union. I think Mikhail Gorbachev is incapable of resorting to strength, said Leonid Kravchuk.

The journalists could not bypass the question of control over nuclear arms stationed on the territory of several former union republics. Nuclear weapons will be controlled on a collective basis. It will be even a stricter control because now strategic nuclear missiles will be impossible to launch unless the three buttons located in the three republics are pushed simultaneously, said Leonid Kravchuk.

Journalists noted that in 1654, Bogdan Khmelnitskiy, and in 1922, Ukrainian Bolsheviks concluded treaties with Russia wishing a better life for the Ukrainian people, but the tragic results of such unions are well known. Is it possible that the agreement on setting up a Commonwealth will end in a failure like previous attempts? I'm not going to analyze whether Bogdan Khmelnitskiy made a mistake or not, but such was the situation at the time, and he wanted to defend the interests of the people. Every politician works within the framework of his time, political forces, and their balance.

I'm not going to idealize the agreement signed in Minsk, but it's very important today. It has put an end to the union, said Leonid Kravchuk.

This was a report from the press conference by Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk, who returned from Minsk, Belarus, where Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus leaders signed an agreement on setting up a commonwealth of three Slavic republics.

Kravchuk, Fokin Cited on Minsk Agreement

PM1012172191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 91 p 2

["Airport interviews" with Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk and Ukrainian Prime Minister V. Fokin by correspondent M. Odinets; date, place not specified: "Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk: We Have Not Destroyed—We Have United"]

[Text] "We adopted a number of decisions," he [Kravchuk] said, "chief of which was the agreement to create a Commonwealth of Independent States. So far it has been signed by three states—Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine. As founders of the 1922 Union, we adopted the decision to liquidate it. We believe that the Union has exhausted its usefulness. This is nothing new for Ukraine, as our

Supreme Soviet adopted a similar statement earlier. Russia and Belarus have now subscribed to this.

"It has been decided that the borders between our three states will be open for the movement of citizens and for the information sphere. In this way the information situation will be the same for everyone. This will put an end to all sorts of rumors about barbed wire on the borders and about visas—there will be none of this, and people can live calmly—Russians, Ukrainians, Belarussians.

"We had a conversation with President Mikhail Gorbachev right after signing the documents. During it we told him that our states have signed this agreement, proceeding from their own constitutions and their own powers.

"Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin has briefed U.S. President George Bush on the results of our work.

"We did everything openly and in accordance with the laws, and President Gorbachev knew that we were meeting in Minsk. The purpose of the meeting was not only to reassure people but to take in hand the process of disintegration which has taken and is taking place today under the 'glorious' leadership of the 'glorious' center. People must know, for there will be those who are keen to shift the blame onto us, saying that so-and-so destroyed the Union. It has to be said that it began to be destroyed in 1985, and the authors of that destructive process are well known to everyone. But we, on the contrary, have pooled the efforts of three great states in order to take the situation in hand and not allow all the state structures to disintegrate before people's eyes."

Ukrainian Prime Minister V. Fokin:

"In addition to the political agreement already mentioned, the foundations of an economic agreement were laid... Everyone is very interested in the package of economic reforms which the Russian Government intends to implement. Not just interested but also worried, for we are like connecting vessels, and if Russia undertakes the liberalization of prices, then this process will inevitably affect other republics too. Therefore the economic agreement provides that actions connected with the reform of price formation, with the methods of making the switch to the market, and with a whole number of exclusively economic problems must all be coordinated."

Kravchuk Outlines Policies to Supreme Soviet

PM1012170791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Dec 91 Union Edition p 1

[By correspondent S. Tsikora: "Ukraine Hears President Take Oath and Divorces the Union"]

[Text] The ceremonial session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, at which the republic president was sworn in, Ukraine's secession from the USSR was announced, and the new head of parliament was also elected, ended in a firework display in Kiev in the evening.

The fact that at the moment the republic lacks a new constitution, anthem, flag, and coat of arms, while causing certain problems as far as swearing in the president was concerned, did not create insuperable difficulties. L. Kravchuk swore loyalty to the people beneath the yellow and blue national flag, one hand on his heart and the other on the Act of Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence. Alongside him was the 1555 Peresolnitskoye Gospel, a masterpiece of Ukrainian culture from the Rovno region, where the current Ukrainian president was born (the book would now cost $6.5 million to insure).

In his program speech L. Kravchuk dwelt on the principles of domestic and foreign policy he intends to follow. They can be briefly formulated as follows: The economy of Ukraine, on the territory of which republic laws alone will continue to operate, will remain socially geared to people's interests. "The entrepreneur will be the basis of the economy, its heart, its driving force." The creation of the nation's economy and introduction of the nation's own money will be carried out in such a way "that people do not lose their honestly earned savings."

As I see it, L. Kravchuk went on to say, the maintenance of civil peace in the Ukraine and the establishment of accord and trust between the authorities and the people, between parties and movements, and between people are the central idea behind all presidential activity. As for foreign policy, the basic principles, according to the president, will be principledness, predictability, and pragmatism. Unconditional acknowledgment of the principles and norms of international law will be the be-all and end-all of our political actions. We are particularly committed to good relations with all the republics of the former Union, Russia above all. I will not take any steps, L. Kravchuk said, that could be exploited to play the "Russian card."

His first decrees, the Ukrainian president said, will be aimed at introducing specific destatization and privatization mechanisms. He will also pay special attention in the next few days to the customs problem. It is not a matter of erecting a blank wall between neighbors, but of using economic levers to control the movement of goods across the border.

A document appealing "To the Parliaments and Peoples of the World," in which the republic elucidated a number of fundamental questions of the day, was adopted surprisingly easily by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, without debate and without any comment. The most significant question, of course, is Ukraine's review of its attitude toward the USSR. The document says: "Ukraine regards the 1922 treaty on the creation of the USSR and all subsequent constitutional acts by the USSR as having no validity or force as far as it is concerned." But the republic confirms its international commitments, it will fulfill the commitments made by

the former USSR, and it is prepared to pay its part of the foreign debt. The document unanimously adopted by the Supreme Soviet stresses that "Ukraine will not be a nuclear power," to which end it intends to "enter into talks with all interested states in order to draw up international treaties."

At his first news conference as Ukrainian president L. Kravchuk explained his attitude toward the conclusion of the new political Union treaty which USSR President M. Gorbachev put forward again recently. Ukraine's fundamental position is that it will conclude political unions with republic states, but will not join a Union in which the states will still have a central administrative organ over them. More than 90 percent of those who participated in the referendum voted for Ukrainian political independence, L. Kravchuk said. It is the will of the people.

The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet examined the question of the election of the the chairman of the republic parliament. L. Kravchuk recommended I. Plyushch for the post. He was formerly first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. There was a secret ballot and I. Plyushch was elected to the post.

Tasks of Officers Union Specified

AU0612093591 Kiev SAMOSTIYNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian No. 17, November 91 p 2

[Speech by Colonel R. Kostyuk, chairman of the Kiev organization of the Union of Officers of the Ukraine, at the second congress of Ukrainian Officers: "The Ukrainian Army Will Be Created!"]

[Text] Esteemed Colleagues,

Dear Guests,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Kiev organization of the Union of Officers of the Ukraine was created on 14 September 1991, and all military educational institutions are represented in it, with the exception of the general military school where old "thinking" still prevails. Branches of the union were also created in the towns of Brovary, Boryspil, Hostomel, and Boyarka.

Officers of various ages (from young lieutenants to octogenarians), engineers, candidates and doctors of sciences, officers and generals of both the Armed Forces of the former empire, and officers of internal troops, militia, and the state security service are joining our organization.

The Kiev organization plays a leading role in the union. Its efforts are mainly focused upon the following issues:

—consolidation of the powerful intellectual potential of Kiev military educational institutions;

—cooperation with those public organizations that promote the revival of an independent Ukraine, and establishment of ties with the mass media;

—establishment of contacts with the Union for Social Protection;

—interaction with local organs of power and with councils at all levels;

—improvement of the interaction with oblast organizations.

Today, the Officers Union fulfills tasks that are put forward by the state. I would like to list the names of those people who initiated this union and who did so, it must be admitted, under conditions that were far from easy. They are Colonel Martyrosyan, Lieutenant Colonels Omelchenko, Chechilo, and others.

In our opinion, the present situation sets an important task: To create, as soon as possible, the Armed Forces of the Ukraine.

Certain statesmen from democratic circles suggest that our army should be composed of 100,000 fighters. Dear gentlemen, do not repeat the mistake made by [Mykhaylo] Hrushevskyy [1866-1934; head of the Central Rada—the Ukrainian nationalist government—elected in April 1917] and [Volodymyr] Vynnychenko [1880-1951; prime minister of the Ukrainian government in 1918] who, in their times, disbanded the one-million strong army, and for this "favor" the Moscow Bolshevik cutthroats led by Lenin and Trotsky, under the leadership of the czarist army Lieutenant Colonel Muravyov, perpetrated a massacre in Kiev. Our descendants will never forgive us for new mistakes and will always condemn us, because people who do not know their history repeat the same mistakes.

What, specifically, is the activity of our organization?

1) We lead a campaign within military troops, educational institutions, and establishments in order that the best officers and Ukrainian patriots should join the Union of Officers;

2) We provide assistance to the Supreme Council and to the Ministry of Defense in fulfilling the law on military service in accordance with which citizens of the Ukraine must do their military service within the boundaries of their own state. To serve in the army of another state amounts to betrayal of one's motherland.

3) We promote the return of servicemen who are Ukrainian citizens to their motherland for the continuation of military service.

4) We participate in finding specialists from among cadre officers, officers of the reserve, and retired officers for work in institutions of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense.

5) We supervise the military and patriotic education of the young people at institutes, universities, secondary technical schools, and regular schools. Much is being done for spiritual revival.

6) The history of the art of warfare is being taught, lectures delivered, and seminars conducted. A group of officers under the leadership of the colonels of the reserve Brovko, Kyslov, and Ihnatovych is completing its work on preparing a plan for teaching the history of the Ukrainian art of warfare (15 lectures).

In the final analysis, all of this is a constituent part of the single general plan for the creation of the Armed Forces of the Ukraine. This was pointed out in the speech by Colonel General Morozov, [Ukrainian] minister of defense.

Thus, we can see how the union, as a whole, is changing, as well as its tasks. In order to resolve them successfully, we need to sort out what has already been done and to analyze our achievements and shortcomings.

The leadership of the union was in charge of preparing analyses, conclusions, and recommendations before and during the congress.

All of this is being done in order to guarantee that our armed forces, which are just being formed, will occupy their due place in an independent Ukraine.

The speeches over the radio and television by Hryhoriy Omelchenko, deputy chairman of the union, were very good. We have received very favorable responses from many people who heard him: His speech was calm, well argued, to the point, and convincing. He also spoke with a fine command of the language.

Unfortunately, we also know of other impressions; there were many negative responses in connection with our chairman's speech at the plenary meeting of the Ukrainian Supreme Council. His speech was not to the advantage of the Union and of the Armed Forces in general.

Today, an important task, and I particularly emphasize this, is to do everything we can in order to promote the adoption of the Act of Ukrainian Independence by the Supreme Council following the referendum. We must go to barracks, officers' and warrant officers' quarters, disseminate the truth about the real state of affairs in the Ukraine, and conduct a struggle against the fascist and chauvinist lies.

Brother officers, our long-suffering and hardworking people endured the yoke of various oppressors, the most terrible of which were the fascist and the Bolshevik plagues.

The people of the Ukraine have not been broken and have held out against all of this; today they stand upright and nobody will ever be able to bring them to their knees in the future, because the glorious officers' corps of the Ukraine is marching together with them along the road to independence.

May God help us!

Long live the Ukraine!

National Guard Commander Interviewed

PM2911091191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Colonel V. Kukharts, commander of the Ukrainian National Guard, by special correspondent Major A. Petrov—date, place not stated: "There Are 'Pros,' But There Are Also 'Cons'"]

[Text] [Petrov] Vladimir Alekseyevich, the press has reported a letter sent to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet by Lieutenant General V. Savvin, commander of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops, in which he described the adoption of the law on the republican guard as an anticonstitutional act.

[Kukharts] Well, let us try to delve into this fundamental question. Let us start from the fact that the Ukraine proclaimed its right to its own internal troops in the Declaration of State Sovereignty.

In accordance with the Supreme Soviet resolution "On Military Formations in the Ukraine," the Supreme Soviet Presidium issued a decree "On the Subordination to the Ukraine of Internal Troops Stationed on Its Territory," which resolved to transfer to the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet all military units of the USSR MVD Internal Troops stationed on Ukrainian territory, together with their control organs, weapons, and material and technical resources. Orders were given for the republican guard to be set up on the basis of these troops and resources.

Now the Supreme Soviet session has adopted a law "On the Ukrainian National Guard." Together with the statute on the procedures for recruitment [komplektovaniye] and for manpower, material-technical, and financial support of the national guard, this law became the juridical basis for the formation of the guard. Judge for yourself whether the adoption of the law is an "anticonstitutional act."

[Petrov] Let us suppose that the law on the national guard is a constitutional act. Now in order to bring it into effect, first of all Union internal troops must be handed over to the jurisdiction of the Ukraine. Does the USSR MVD agree to this?

[Kukharts] We recently finished joint work with a commission of this department aimed at drafting an agreement on the transfer of USSR MVD Internal Troops stationed on Ukrainian territory to the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

[Petrov] What is the gist of this draft?

[Kukharts] That all internal troops deployed on Ukrainian territory—together with their bases, training centers, equipment, and so forth—should be withdrawn

lock, stock, and barrel from the USSR MVD structure and transferred gratis to the Ukrainian organs of state power and administration.

[Petrov] But wasn't the USSR MVD intending to set up interrepublic internal troops primarily to stop armed interethnic conflicts?

[Kukharts] The Ukraine takes a firm line. It will not hand over any units to the Union ministry.

[Petrov] Is this not why the USSR MVD delegation went home without signing an agreement?

[Kukharts] It simply did not have the appropriate powers to do so.

[Petrov] The center gives the "okay" to the change in jurisdiction over the internal troops—what are your actions then?

[Kukharts] We immediately start forming the national guard. In the first stage from the operational and special motorized militia units—that is about 30,000 men. In the second stage the national guard's strength will be brought up to 50,000. However, the need for so many guards may not actually arise. Everything will depend on the the situation in the Ukraine and in the country as a whole. The figure will be adjusted every year.

[Petrov] How do you react to a phenomenon such as the formation of a national guard in the western Ukraine and Lvov, where registration of volunteers was in full swing until quite recently?

[Kukharts] Negatively. Recruitment must be carried out on a legal basis—conscription into the guard is effected only through military commissariats. Initially, the national guard will be manned through the compulsory service draft contingent. Eventually we will switch to manning on contract.

Youths of sound health will serve in the national guard—we only take draftees from the first category, of guardsman's height, not under 175 centimeters. They are young men who are disciplined and honest—parents, enterprise, and school must vouch for a future guardsman—and possess excellent professional training.

[Petrov] How do people in the Ukraine react to the idea of forming a national guard?

[Kukharts] Positively. People believe that it is being set up not against the people, but in their defense. And we must justify this faith. Much work awaits the officers and all who will serve in the national guard! We will spare no effort to ensure that the guard are the elite troops of the Ukraine and that the people can be proud of them.

[Petrov] But a good "standard" also requires good salary scales...

[Kukharts] There is a proposal that a new recruit should earn 350-400 rubles [R] straight off. After 18 months' service the commanders will determine who has achieved the most professionalism in his speciality and will offer to conclude contracts with the very best. Professionals will be on a scale of R700-800.

With the aid of the Cabinet of Ministers and the Supreme Soviet we hope to solve the housing question as well.

[Petrov] Incidentally, there was a report that citizens of the Ukraine who have a command of the Ukrainian language are to be accepted for service in the guards irrespective of nationality or creed.

[Kukharts] Knowledge of Ukrainian plays no role in the transitional period, although the state language on Ukrainian territory is Ukrainian. Eventually all the conditions necessary for study of the language will be created in our country.

[Petrov] Vladimir Alekseyevich, now tell us about the tasks which will be set for the national guard.

[Kukharts] Above all, defense of the Ukraine's constitutional system from unlawful encroachment; taking part in maintaining any state of emergency and eliminating the consequences of accidents, catastrophes, and natural disasters; forming units in special periods to guard and defend the most important state facilities; helping the border troops to detain violators of the Ukraine's state borders through the efforts of units to be stationed in the border regions; participating in combat operations aimed at repulsing any attack from outside and in the defense of Ukrainian security; and guarding embassies. And one further task of no little importance—participation in the welcome and farewell ceremonies for representatives of foreign states and in state festivals and ceremonies. These are the tasks we are assigned.

[Petrov] Imagine the following situation. God forbid, but suppose, for example, the Supreme Soviet has to introduce a state of emergency. What will it mean to "take part in maintaining any state of emergency"?

[Kukharts] The guard must in no event fulfill police functions! It can only be used in the interests of the nation. To defend the life and personal dignity of citizens and their constitutional rights from criminal infringement and from other antisocial activities. And only on the basis of the law, only in accordance with the Ukrainian Constitution. Our activity must be based on the principles of humanism, respect for personal dignity, and the rights and freedoms of our citizens. Then it will be a truly national guard. Otherwise it will simply lose the people's respect. Indeed, th very idea of a national guard will be discredited.

[Petrov] I was told that since your appointment as commander you have continued to command the Dnepropetrovsk Internal Troops brigade?

[Kukharts] That is indeed the case. I have been commander of the Dnepropetrovsk combined unit for almost 12 years.

[Petrov] A fellow countryman of yours, Senior Lieutenant Aleksandr Kovtun (he is also a native of Akhtyria's Sumy Oblast) is chief of the provisions service of an internal troops unit stationed in Siberia and wants to serve in the Ukrainian National Guard. How can he go about it?

[Kukharts] Nowadays I receive many such letters from Ukrainian officers serving outside the republic. A decision will be adopted on each letter and each person. We are talking about people's careers! And we do not have the right to disappoint people's hopes.

[Petrov] One last question. How did your family receive the news of your appointment?

[Kukharts] Without special enthusiasm. My wife, my son, and his wife would, of course, like to see me at home a little more often. But a new job demands complete devotion. May my relatives forgive me. [Kukharts ends]

From the Editorial Office

The attitude today toward the national guards being set up in the republics is twofold. Some people consider them a necessary condition and reliable guarantee of the sovereignty and independence of the state. Others believe that a national guard contains great danger—the possibility of its being used by individual political forces or groupings against the people. B. Barannikov, USSR minister of internal affairs, also described his attitude to military formations under the aegis of a national guard as equivocal. Moreover, in his words, in a number of regions, the recruitment of armed detachments is entirely undesirable, because it might lead to very serious consequences. The minister also objects to the formation of national guards from USSR MVD Internal Troops.

Be that as it may, not to pay attention to processes connected with the formation of armed formations of this sort is to lose touch with reality.

Officers Upset Over Shaposhnikov's Attitude

LD3011112291 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] The assembly of the Kiev organization of the Union of Officers of Ukraine has issued a statement in connection with the latest moves of the Union defense minister, Marshal Shaposhnikov. During the recent meeting of Shaposhnikov with the Ukraine's defense minister, Marshal Shaposhnikov seemed to meet with understanding the processes taking place in Ukraine, those processes dealing with the subordination of troops to the republic and the formation of the structures of the Ukrainian army. However, after the State Council decision on the unity of the army, which again reaffirmed the center's unwillingness to put up with realities, Marshal Shaposhnikov's attitude toward this problem changed upon instructions from the Kremlin. Marshal Shaposhnikov sent a secret message to the military commanders on Ukraine's territory indicating that they must fulfill only orders issued by the Union defense minister.

As far as the Ukraine's Defense Ministry is concerned, Marshal Shaposhnikov indicated he can have under his jurisdiction only National Guards and civil defense. In their statement, members of the Kiev organization of the Union of Officers of Ukraine point out that the generals and senior officers who only recently supported the notorious Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR now carry out repressions in the army units being inspired by the secret message of Marshal Shaposhnikov. For example, chief of staff of the Kiev Military District, Lieutenant-General Boriskin appended the following instruction on Shaposhnikov's message. I quote: We shall never let our international armed forces be split apart. We believe that no reactionary forces can destroy our unity.

Of course, when referring to reactionary forces, Boriskin means the democratic movement, Ukrainian officers' union included. Such actions of the center are qualified by the appeal's authors as violation of Ukraine's rights and sovereignty, violation of human rights, honor, and dignity of officers. The statement contains an appeal to officers and soldiers who serve in Ukraine to show staunchness and resoluteness in defending their rights and freedoms, and calls upon them to say yes to Ukraine's independence in the 1 December referendum.

Republican Party Leader Interviewed

AU2911091091 Kiev SAMOSTIYNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian No. 15, October 91 p 4

[Interview with Oleh Pavlyshyn, deputy head of the Ukrainian Republican Party (URP), by Ihor Kravchuk, editor in chief of SAMOSTIYNA UKRAYINA; place and date not given : "Our Party Will Do Everything in Order To Maintain Ukrainian Unity"]

[Text] *Oleh Pavlyshyn is 28, an agronomist by profession, unmarried, goes in for sports, and is interested in contemporary American literature*

[Kravchuk] Pan [Ukrainian honorific] Oleh, the readers of our newspaper would like to learn from competent sources about the activity of the URP in greater detail. This is attested to by numerous letters that SAMOSTIYNA UKRAYINA's editorial board is receiving. We decided to turn directly to you with this question and with questions that deal with presidential elections.

[Pavlyshyn] The entire activity of the URP is aimed at the fastest achievement of Ukrainian independence. We work at several levels: At the level of the Ukrainian Supreme Council, where deputies of the Supreme Council representing the URP have been doing and are doing everything possible to make the independence issue a reality and to fill the Declaration [of Independence] with real content, and at the level of oblast and rayon organizations, which conduct active work aimed at raising the people's national consciousness.

[Kravchuk] Are there URP organizations in every oblast?

[Pavlyshyn] Yes, in every one of them and even outside the Ukraine—in Russia—where the URP organization protects the interests of the Ukrainians.

[Kravchuk] How many members are there in the URP today?

[Pavlyshyn] It is difficult to give an exact figure, because the numerical strength of the URP is actively growing. One could see their particularly vigorous activity on the days of the Bolshevik putsch, and, you know, this gives hope. At the moment, there are more than 15,000 members and, if candidates are also counted, much more.

[Kravchuk] How are things with oblast organizations, especially in the Crimea and the Donetsk oblast?

[Pavlyshyn] In the Crimea and the Donetsk region, the situation is complicated. The former party mafia is destabilizing the situation, stirring up interethnic conflicts and conducting a criminal campaign for the secession of certain territories from the Ukraine. It must be pointed out that the URP organizations are the greatest obstacle for them. We have a quite active organization in the Crimea. It works better than some organizations in central regions where a certain carefree calm can be observed and where people reason like this: Independence has been proclaimed, everything is O.K., and we can now relax. This is the gravest mistake—the main and the most difficult work is ahead. Thousands of signatures have been collected in the Crimea in favor of Levko Lyk"yanenko. This is a striking evidence that, in spite of the ferocious chauvinist and anti-Ukrainian propaganda, our national revival is inevitable even in those regions where Russified and denationalized Crimean Ukrainians remember who their fathers were.

A few words about the Donetsk oblast URP organization. This organization has a strong influence upon the strike movement; picketing of the Oblast Council is presently under way and the demand is not to raise the question of transforming the Donbass into an autonomy. This is great and difficult work. I would like to point out that it is based upon enthusiasm and, therefore, the forces are unequal. However, I am sure that the Donetsk region will not be severed from the Ukraine.

OUR PARTY WILL DO EVERYTHING IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN UKRAINIAN UNITY

[Kravchuk] Pan Oleh, the URP has done great work to collect signatures in order that Levko Hryhorovych Lukyanenko, the chairman of the party, could become a presidential candidate. Many parties and organizations failed to fulfill this task, but the most important stage is ahead—to see to it that Pan Lukyanenko becomes president.

[Pavlyshyn] The real situation is like this: Levko Lukyanenko is not supported by the structures of power that are largely composed of Communists; these will support Leonid Kravchuk. In the western Ukraine, the structures of power will largely give their support to Chornovil. The Galician Assembly is also in favor of Chornovil. However, I know that the URP will conduct its work at a proper level.

[Kravchuk] What would you answer to those who are saying that the URP is striving for power?

[Pavlyshyn] I would like to ask you whether you know of a party that does not strive for power. By power, we do not mean picnics in the country, obtaining luxurious dachas or automobiles, or paying membership dues. It is for us a possibility to implement our program. We need power in order to take upon ourselves the responsibility for the fate of the Ukraine and to make the people of the Ukraine happy and prosperous.

Bank Chairman on Introduction of Currency

LD2611193191 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] The introduction of multi-use coupons can be realized only in 1992, stated Volodymyr Matviyenko, chairman of the National Bank Administration of Ukraine. More complicated is the issue pertaining to the printing and introduction of the Ukrainian monetary unit. Ukraine, underlined Volodymyr Matviyenko, is not prepared at the present time to insure its bank notes with neither gold nor diamonds. Ukraine now has only several million convertible rubles. The enterprises of the republic have some 400 million convertible rubles in their accounts. In order to introduce our own monetary unit, we must receive from the center the credits, resources of Ukraine—that is gold, currency—pay off our debts, and open up a broad direct (?correspondence) account. But, because of the absence of Ukrainian currency accounts in foreign countries, the currency received from foreign economic activity of almost 6,000 Ukrainian enterprises exporters is deposited in the banking system of the Union.

State Credits Granted To Buildings, Industry

LD0112150591 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] According to the program of extraordinary measures on stabilizing the Ukraine's economy and helping it out of the critical situation, the Cabinet of Ministers and the Directorate of the National Bank of the Ukraine have introduced the granting of state credits to buildings and units of industrial use starting from 1 January 1992. This will be implemented at the expense of the Investments Fund of Ukraine, which is being created.

State credit will be given to ministries, departments, and other organizations and other investors for building, reconstruction, and technical re-equipment of buildings and units for industrial use determined by forecasts of the economic and social development of the Ukraine or by resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Ukraine. The system of granting and repaying state credits has been determined. The registration and settling of accounts with investors is being carried out by the National Bank of the Ukraine.

Japanese Economist Offered Advisory Post

OW2811201091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1756 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Text] According to sources close to the leaders of the Ukrainian parliament, the post of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers' adviser has been offered to prominent Japanese economist Nichiyama. Professor Nichiyama took part in drafting the programme for Japan's economic rehabilitation after World War II.

Following his recent visit to Kiev, professor Nichiyama told IF [INTERFAX] that plans for privatizing small companies and shops were erroneous. Privatization should begin with large enterprises, he said.

Armenia

President Comments on 'Historic' Commonwealth

LD1112104191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Excerpt] The president of Armenia, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, has described the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States as an historic step on the way of radically renovating relations among the former Union republics. In his statement he stressed that the commonwealth would help promote equal economic cooperation and ensure human rights and the rights of the national minorities. Armenia, on its part, is ready to seriously discuss the question of joining the commonwealth. [passage omitted]

Azerbaijan

Republic To Consider New Commonwealth

LD1012214391 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2004 GMT 10 Dec 91

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Azerbaijan State Council: Idea of creation new community may be supported if it does not exclude sovereignty process. This was the decision taken by participants to the Azerbaijan State Council session on December 10, headed by President Ayaz Mutalibov who has just returned from Moscow after a series of talks with leaders of a number of former Union republics in connection with creation of a community of independent states. It was pointed out at the session that issues relating to the form of the new community, its principles of creation and relations between states—community members—should be thoroughly considered. PF [POSTFACTUM] was told by the Azerbaijani president press service that participants to the State Council session agreed that in any case the agreement signed in Minsk by leaders of Belarus, Russia and the Ukraine should be closely studied and a special discussion by the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet should be held, if necessary.

Presidential Aide Comments on Minsk Agreement

OW1112052091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1725 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Rasim Musabekov, the Azerbaijani President's aide on ethnic relations, said that the agreement on the formation of a community of independent states "should be viewed as their internal affair".

Mr. Musabekov told IF [INTERFAX] that cooperation between Slavic states was a natural thing, because they had the same historical, cultural and religious roots.

Mr. Musabekov said that if the agreement between the three Slavic states had been aimed at saving the Union in this or that form, Azerbaijan would not have welcomed it. "There is no such information, however," said Mr. Musabekov.

Nagorno-Karabakh Holds Statehood Referendum

NC1012150791 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] A referendum is being held today in Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. The question put to referendum is: Do you agree that the already proclaimed Nagorno-Karabakh Republic should become an independent state and decide independently its form of cooperation with the other states and associations?

This referendum also is being held in a number of cities and regions of the Armenian Republic, where a great number of refugees from a dozen of villages in Shushinskiy Rayon, Berdadzor Subrayon, Gadrutskiy Rayon, from Getashen and Martunashen have gathered since April of this year.

The referendum polling stations in Armenia have been crowded since early morning. By 1300, thousands of people from Nagorno-Karabakh—deportees, students, and those on errand in Armenia—had participated in the referendum.

Dear listeners, we will broadcast a report on the referendum at 2000.

[Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian at 1215 GMT on 10 December reports that the question put to referendum is the following: "Do you agree to the formation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic within the structure of the USSR or its legal successor?" The report adds that 40 observers from various regions of the former Soviet Union will follow the referendum.]

Official Criticizes Referendum

OW1112033191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2102 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Rasim Musabekov, an aid to the President of Azerbaijan on nationalist issues, evaluated the referendum in Nagorno-Karabakh as an act intending to disrupt Azerbaijan's peace-making efforts to regulate the Armenian-Azeri conflict.

On December 10th in Nagorno-Karabakh a referendum was held on the question: "are you in favour of Nagorno-Karabakh's being an independent republic?"

In an interview with "Interfax" Musabekov stated that the executive committee of the region, which is empowered to hold referendums, does not exist; it was dissolved by the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet in 1989. It follows

that "any kind of decision by the regional executive committee, including the decision to hold a referendum, or documents signed by its chairman, are from a legal point of view, counterfeit."

Musabekov also said that "Leonard Petrosyan, calling himself the chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh executive committee is a banal imposture. "

The president's aid noted that the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh was dissolved by the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijani Republic on November 26th and incorporated into the republic. He remarked that the region had been created in 1923 as a decision by the Caucasus office of the Russian Communist Party and served as a base to interfere with the internal affairs of Azerbaijan.

National Council Issues Decision on NKAO

NC1112101291 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] The Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet National Council has adopted a decision in connection with the restoration of the state of lawfulness and law and order in the mountainous area in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The National Council noted that regardless of the Azerbaijan Republic's measures in the mountainous areas of Nagorno-Karabakh to establish peace and harmony and restore mutual agreement and good-neighborly relations between the Armenian and Azerbaijani citizens, the separatist Armenians continue to maintain their campaign to further destabilize the situation, disregard the Azerbaijan Republic's Constitution and laws, and avoid compliance with the decision adopted by the supreme state organs of the republic. All this is done for the restoration of the nonexistent state bodies of the abolished Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO].

The convocation of the so-called NKAO people's deputies soviet in November 1991 was a new provocation. Several illegal measures, which conflicted with the Constitution and the laws of Azerbaijan and which can be described as criminal actions, were put into effect on that day. In fact, decisions were adopted to hold a referendum in this so-called republic and to have the former NKAO placed under the Soviet Union's jurisdiction.

It is common knowledge that the Constitution of Azerbaijan and the law which applies to the referendum question explicitly state that the territory of Azerbaijan can neither be (?divided) nor changed without the decision of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet and the approval of all the Azerbaijani people through a referendum. It is impossible for those who try gradually to strain the situation and maintain the dispute in the region not to be aware of this state of affairs.

All these unconstitutional activities are being broadened against the 3 September 1991 decision by the Azerbaijan Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium on the unconstitutional activities of the defunct NKAO people's deputies soviet—activities which sought to change the NKAO's status—and against the law the Azerbaijan Republic enacted on 23 November to abolish the status of the NKAO.

Assessing all the separatist Armenians' activities as a new provocation aimed at undermining efforts to normalize the regional situation, and taking into consideration Articles 70, 71, 72, and 104 of the Constitution of the Azerbaijan Republic, the National Council has decided:

1. The convocation of the so-called NKAO people's deputies soviet is illegal and the decision it adopted is void of any legal basis.

2. The Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of National Security, Ministry of Defense, and Procurator General's Office are to take all legal measures to obstruct any effort to ratify illegal acts which breach the Constitution and laws of Azerbaijan.

3. Any move made by the state organs, officials, social organizations, and citizens to help realize the decision adopted by the unconstitutional elements is illegal and subject to criminal charges in accordance with the laws of Azerbaijan.

4. In view of the evidence which confirms the crimes committed against the state, the procurator general will be instructed to consider instituting criminal charges in accordance with the criminal code of the Azerbaijan Republic against a group of individuals which is engaged in unconstitutional and illegal activities. The procurator general also will be instructed to focus on investigating criminal activities.

Tamerlan Karayev, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Republic Supreme Soviet.

Baku City. Date: 5 December 1991.

Fighting Continues as Troops Leave NKAO

NC1012162391 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Yerevan, 10 Dec (ARMENPRES)—Reliable sources have said that nearly 1,408 servicemen will be discharged from military service in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] in the next two days. No replacement is envisaged.

In the meantime, the Armenian settlements are coming under daily gunfire. On the night of 8 December, the Armenian-inhabited Noragyukh came under fire from Khodzhaly. Two died and a woman was injured. That same night, "Alazan" missiles were fired at Stepanakert from the Azerbaijani district of the Kirkidzhan settlement. Twelve houses were destroyed, and there were injuries.

YERKIR paper reports that on the night of 8 December, Stepanakert came under fire. More than 100 "Alazan" missiles were fired at Stepanakert from Shusha, the Azerbaijani district of Kirkidzhan, Malibeyli, and Khodzhaly. The enemy also used cannons. Five homes and other buildings were damaged in Stepanakert. There were no dead or injured. Five of the missiles fell on the Army barracks in Stepanakert. In return, tanks opened fire on the Azerbaijani positions in Shusha, where fire broke out.

An exchange of fire took place in Kirkidzhan settlement. Two OMON [special purpose militia detachment] members were killed and another two taken prisoner.

Noragyukh was attacked with missiles from the direction of Khodzhaly on the morning of 9 December. One died and two were injured.

The people of Stepanakert are worried that the 10 December referendum may fail because of the missile attacks.

'Complex' Situation Reported

NC1112121991 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 6 Dec 91

[Text] Shots are being heard once more in the former Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. A complex situation continues to prevail in Kirkidzhan town, which is adjacent to Khankend [Stepanakert]. The Azerbaijani and Armenian sides are trying to stabilize the situation with the help of military servicemen.

Meanwhile, talks have been held between representatives from Mardakertskiy Rayon and neighboring Peltevskiy Rayon, and plans have been made for a meeting between the representatives of the Askeranskiy and Agdamskiy Rayons. The objective of this is to open the roads, release the hostages, and halt the exchange of fire.

President Appoints New Secretary of State

LD1012115691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1101 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By AZERINFORM-TASS correspondent Natan Barskiy]

[Text] Baku, 10 Dec (TASS)—Mitat Abasov has been appointed secretary of state by decree of the president of Azerbaijan. Tofik Ismailov, his predecessor, perished tragically in the recent air crash in Nagorno-Karabakh.

A full member of the National Academy of Sciences, Mitat Abasov is a major scholar in the sphere of the processing of natural fuels. He has been head of the academic institute for the problems of deep-seated oil and gas fields for 20 years and was, prior to his appointment, vice president of the Academy of Sciences. He was elected a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Nakhichevan Leader Opposes New Union Efforts

TA0912193091 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1800 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Excerpts] Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic President Geydar Aliyev has said that efforts by USSR President Gorbachev to restore the Union have no chances to succeed.

In response to questions by TRT [Turkish Radio and Television] correspondents Ali Dogan and Ibrahim Gurkan Sari, Aliyev said that the Soviet Union is bound to be dispersed as there is no need for such a union. [passage omitted]

On relations with Turkey, Aliyev recalled that Turkey is the only way out from Nakhichevan and expressed his gratitude for food assistance from Turkey. Pointing out that Ataturk's policies have always been influential in his country as well as other Turkish communities, Aliyev said that they expect Turkey to be true to these policies.

He concluded by declaring that problems between Azerbaijan and Armenia depended on Azerbaijan becoming fully independent. He added that the solution to these problems will be easier in case the Soviet Union puts an end to its interferences.

National Council's Decisions on Borders

NC1112120191 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Text] The National Council of the Azerbaijan Republic Supreme Soviet has adopted a decision on the draft law on the republic's state border. The decision said:

1. The draft law on the state border of the Azerbaijan Republic will be approved after it is read for the first time.

2. People's Deputy Tofik Kasumov will be instructed to work with experts to finalize the draft law in light of the recommendations and proposals put forward by the deputies and submit it to the National Council.

Meanwhile, considering the situation in the former Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the border rayons in Azerbaijan, the National Council has adopted the following decision:

1. The president, prime minister, defense minister, and national security minister of Azerbaijan should draw up urgent plans on the measures to be taken to normalize the situation and establish security in the former Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the border rayons in the republic.

2. The urgent plans on the measures that will be put into effect will be submitted to the National Council by 13 December 1991.

Georgia

Presidium Terms Minsk Agreements 'Historic'

OW1112121391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1129 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Presidium of the Georgian parliament has qualified the Minsk agreements as historic. They may give a strong impetus to the development of new political relations and economic structures, and to their active integration with the free world system", [no begin quotes received] says the Presidium's message to the supreme councils of Russia, the Ukraine and Belarus.

Gamsakhurdia Welcomes Slav Accord

LD1012221991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] According to AFP, President of Georgia Zviad Gamsakhurdia today welcomed the treaty between the three Slav states. He stated that he is happy about the final disintegration of the Soviet Union. At the same time, the Georgian leader noted that until Georgia's independence is recognized, the republic does not intend to join any alliance or commonwealth.

Attacks On Army Officers Continue

LD1012163891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1545 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Tbilisi, Dec 10 (TASS)—Attacks on officers of the Soviet Armed Forces are continuing in Georgia. On 9 December Lieutenant-Colonel V. Naryzhnyy was knifed 12 times by unknown persons as he was leaving the Transcaucasus Military District headquarters. He was taken to the Tbilisi military hospital in a serious condition. The assailants drove off in Lt.-Col. Naryzhnyy's official car.

Major-General Glebov Attacked

OW1112120691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1129 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On the morning of December 10, in the centre of Tbilisi, militants attacked First Deputy Commander of the 19th anti-aircraft army, Major-General Glebov. They insulted him, tore his clothes and seized his Volga car.

During his subsequent meeting with Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Mr. Glebov laid the blame for the incident on Tengis Kitovani's guards. During the August putsch several hundred national guards refused to fulfill Gamsakhurdia's orders. Today, the about 250 rebellious guards are under the command of Tengiz Kitovani, whom Zviad Gamsakhurdia removed from the post of commander of the national guard.

Fighting Continues in South Ossetia

LD1012145791 Moscow TASS in English 1423 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz Dec 10 TASS—According to reports from South Ossetia, shots were fired on the outskirts of Tskhinvali and in Znauri district last night. Georgian militants conducted aimed fire on the northern and southern residential areas of the city from nearby villages. Several houses and public-utility facilities were damaged in Tskhinvali. There were no reports about any loss of life.

Missiles were again fired on the district centre of Znauri. The town is in ruins.

A spokesman at the press centre of the South Ossetia information committee told TASS that a brief but anxious lull on the approaches to Tskhinvali is connected with the fact that self-defence detachments for the first time took positions on an order from the commander of the South Ossetian armed forces. They patrol residential areas round-the-clock and guard roads leading into Tskhinvali.

But on the whole, the situation around Tskhinvali is extremely tense and explosive. The city is in a tight ring of transportation, food and energy blockade.

Meanwhile, information reaching here from reliable sources says groups of militants continue to arrive at the approaches to Tskhinvali. There are more than 20,000 militants in nearby Georgian villages. Georgian helicopters fly reconnaisance missions to find out the situation around Tskhinvali.

Leader Places Ministries Under Direct Control

AU1112085291 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 6 Dec 91 p 1

[Republic of Georgia Law on the introduction of changes to the Republic of Georgia Law "On the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers" issued in Tbilisi on 3 December]

[Text] The Republic of Georgia Supreme Council resolves:

To introduce the following changes to the Republic of Georgia Law of 26 August "On the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers":

1. In Article 24, to add the word "security" after the word "transport."

2. To reword Article 25 in the following way:

"Article 25. Ministries, committees, and departments are under the direct control of the president of the Republic of Georgia.

The ministries of defense, justice, foreign affairs, security, and internal affairs, and the State Control Committee are under the direct control of the president of the Republic of Georgia.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

[Date] Tbilisi. 3 December 1991.

Gamsakhurdia Appoints New Trade Minister

AU0912120991 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 26 Nov 91 p 1

[Decree Issued by Georgaian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia in Tbilisi on 22 November]

[Text] Zurab Petrovich Kopaliani is appointed minister of trade of the Republic of Georgia.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

Tbilisi, 22 November 1991.

Gamsakhurdia Accused of 'Blackmail'

AU1012141591 Tbilisi SAKARTVELO in Georgian No. 27 (54) 5 Dec 91 p 2

[Open letter from Nodar Natadze, chairman of the Popular Front and the parliamentary opposition faction 'Democratic Center,' to Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia, and Nemo Burchuladze, deputy chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council, published in Tbilisi; date not given]

[Text] Your Excellency, Batono [Georgian polite form of address] President!

Batono Deputy Chairman!

You know very well that I consider your policies on many current issues to be harmful to Georgia, in particular, the passive attitude of your administration with regard to the demand (and not only request) for recognition of our independence from the Soviet Union and Russia, your economic tactics, and your general move toward the establishment of a one-man dictatorship in Georgia. You also know that I do not believe in the resoluteness of your administration with regard to the question of refusing to sign the draft agreement on a "common economic space" and I am also not hiding the fact that I blame your administration for the shedding of blood between brothers in the confrontations between Georgians in September and October. Neither am I hiding the fact that I consider it a crime that your administration has political prisoners, and I expect a new illegal and merciless attempt on its part to suppress free thought and political opponents. In spite of all this, I am participating without fail in the sessions of the Supreme Council in the hope that, no matter what the results of the voting may be, I will always be able to communicate my views to the deputies if I have something useful to say on one question or another.

However, what I saw on 3 December [a reference to the session of the Supreme Council at which the parliamentary opposition claims a number of decisions were adopted without the necessary quorum], for longer and in more detail than I have ever seen before, finally convinced me that it is insulting to the human and civic dignity of the opposition or "opposition" deputies to participate in the work of the Supreme Council in the currently prevailing conditions. You, for your own political aims, are directing and organizing citizens to carry out acts of hooliganism in order to blackmail deputies and artificially involve them in relations with such groups with whom contact itself is insulting. I will continue, as before, to try to participate without fail in the work of the Supreme Council and will always communicate my views to the gathering of deputies if they prove useful to the matter at hand. However, I will no longer hide your administration's shameful methods with regard to the regulation of parliamentary processes by means that are prohibited.

[Signed] N. Natadze.

Appeal to Turkey To Recognize Independence

AU0912120691 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 6 December 91 p 1

["Appeal to the Grand National Assembly (Parliament) of the Turkish Republic by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia"; date not given]

[Text] Proceeding from the fact that:

Turkey and Georgia are neighboring countries that have age-old traditions of interrelations;

that, on 9 April 1991, the parliament of Georgia, elected as a result of multiparty democratic elections, proclaimed Georgia's state independence;

that the two countries accept the principle of self-determination of nations;

that the economic, cultural, and tourist ties between Turkey and Georgia are becoming increasingly intensive;

that bilateral and regional interests make it necessary to establish permanent cooperation between Turkey and Georgia for the purpose of deepening and strengthening ties between our countries in the sphere of political consultations, the economy, culture, mutual exchange of information, and humanitarian relations;

that Georgia maintains good-neighborly relations with all those neighboring countries that have no territorial claims upon Georgia;

and that Georgian independence has already been recognized de jure by Romania, Moldova, Armenia, and

Azerbaijan and that some countries adjacent to Georgia and some Western countries are considering the question of recognizing Georgia,

The Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia turns to you with a proposal to recognize the Republic of Georgia and to establish with us diplomatic relations that will involve opening embassies in Ankara and in Tbilisi.

We believe that you share our conviction that diplomatic recognition of Georgia will promote a strengthening of multilateral friendly ties between our countries and will become one of the powerful factors in maintaining regional peace.

Please accept our assurances of profound respect,

The Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia.

Servicemen Invited To Join Border Guards

PM1012114191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Report from roundup of TASS and correspondents reports: "For Service on the Border"]

[Text] The Georgian Defense Ministry has published a statement in the local press inviting soldiers, sergeants, sailors, and warrant officers who have good health, experience, and the desire to serve in the national border troops to come under the banners of the border troops directorate.

Opposition Wants Early Parliamentary Elections

OW1012033691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1945 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The newly established assembly of opposition parliamentarians in Tbilisi has issued a resolution calling for holding parliamentary elections in Georgia no later than next spring. The statement will be made public at Tuesday's [10 December] rally marking International Human Rights Day.

The assembly unites members of the parliamentary factions Democratic Center, Charter-91 and the Mirab Gustava Society, as well as a number of independent MPs [members of parliament].

Parliament Opposition Says Session 'Invalid'

AU1012105791 Tbilisi SAKARTVELO in Georgian No. 27 (54) 5 Dec 91 p 1

[Joint statement on the session of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council of 3 December issued in Tbilisi by opposition groups within the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council; date not given]

[Text] On 3 December 1991, at the session of the Supreme Council, Batoni [Georgian polite form of address] Nemo Burchuladze, who was presiding over the session, stated that 127 deputies had registered before the start of the session, a quorum had been established, and the session was empowered to begin work.

It became clear right from the beginning of the session that it was impossible to work. In particular, because the following three absurd contradictions manifested themselves at the very start of the session:

1. Batoni Nemo Burchuladze, the chairman of the session, not only forbade statements to be made at the beginning of the session, but also transferred all statements (including those concerning the agenda) to "any other business," which figures last on the agenda when all questions have been discussed.

2. It is absurd and contradictory that precisely those deputies were not allowed into the session (by those women picketing outside against whom the government and authorities have not taken any action) without whom it was unimaginable to discuss the first question on the agenda, as Batonebi Vazha Adamia [chairman of the Merab Kostava Society] and Gia Khavtasi, unlike all the others present, are actively involved in what is happening in Samachablo [South Ossetia]. Furthermore, one of the questions under discussion is personally related to Gia Khavtasi.

3. One of the first questions on the agenda concerned the disbandment of illegal armed formations and punitive measures against them. It was precisely at this session that a fairly large group of young persons was allowed into the hall. Instead of showing their passes, they verbally announced themselves as representatives of "White George" (or one of the illegal armed formations).

It is precisely for this reason and not in protest against a matter of principle or moral influence that 37 deputies left the hall.

After this, there was no fresh registration to establish if a quorum still existed. Furthermore, a number of the remaining deputies at the session do not take part in the voting.

At the session, some of the questions that had not obtained the necessary amount of votes at the previous session, which had been halted, were discussed and voted on.

On the basis of all the aforementioned, we can conclude that the meeting of the session of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council of 3 December was held in blatant contravention of the regulations and, therefore, all its decisions must be declared invalid.

[Signed] Members of the Supreme Council fraction "Democratic Center": Nodar Natadze, Roman Gotsiridze, Davit Arevadze, Givi Lobshanidze, Anzor Sichinava, Davit Berdzenishvili, Tamaz Diasamidze, Akaki Bobokhidze, Paata Koghuashvili, Avtandil Imnadze.

Members of the Supreme Council fraction "Charter-91": Tedo Paatashvili, Gela Chorgolashvili, Malkhaz Kvanchilashvili, Tengiz Dikhaminjia, Gela Koberidze, Irakli Melashvili, Bezhan Abasadze, Malkhaz Dvalishvili.

Members of the Merab Kostava Society: Vazha Adamia, Gia Khavtasi, Davit Kupreishvili, Tamaz Obgadze, Malkhaz Khutsishvili, Archil Machavariani, Zurab Gigolashvili, Nugzar Kvachadze, Anzor Sakandelidze, Givi Uriatmqopeli, Jemal Sajaia, Gia Subeliani, Eter Qavalashvili, Salome Zviadadze.

Supreme Council deputies: Ruslan Ghonghadze, Maia Natadze, Khvedri Inasaridze, Avtandil Popiashvili, Zurab Kandelaki.

Control Increased Over Food, Goods Exports

OW0912111991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1715 GMT 7 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian Cabinet has adopted a resolution restricting "spontaneous" exports of food and consumer goods from the republic. As of December 11, Georgian citizens will be expected to present their passports or other identification documents in food and non-food stores.

Visitors, tourists and other non-residents will be permitted to buy ½ kilo of bread, 200 grams of sausage and 1-3 meat or fish cans during one visit to a store.

Military servicemen and their families, as well as other persons unable for various reasons to present documents identifying them as permanent residents of Georgia, may request temporary certificates from the local administrations.

Interrepublic Affairs

Central Asian Presidents To Meet in Ashkhabad

LD1112161591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1545 GMT 11 Dec 91

[By TURKMENINFORM-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[Text] Ashkhabad, 11 Dec (TASS)—On the initiative of Saparmurad Niyazov, president of Turkmenistan, a meeting of the presidents of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan has been planned for 12 December in Ashkhabad. The leaders of these states, which are part of the former USSR, intend to discuss the situation that has developed in connection with the adoption of the statement by the republics of Belarus, Russia, and the Ukraine.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Sworn in Before Supreme Soviet

OW1112014991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 10 Dec 91

[From "Bulletin 2"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Nursultan Nazarbayev was sworn on December 10th as the first president of the republic to be publicly elected. Elections were held on December 1st. Speaking at the ceremonial meeting of the Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan after taking the oath, Nazarbayev turned to the issue of the creation of a Commonwealth of Independent States by Belarus, Russia and Ukraine. According to Nazarbayev, this agreement was unexpected. "It is now too early to make rapid fire judgements on this event, but Kazakhstan should be prepared for any change in events." The Kazakh leader said that the republic can decide its own problems alone in the increasingly difficult situation. Nevertheless, the leadership of Kazakhstan remains in support of integrational processes, the president said.

Discussing economic perspectives, Nazarbayev noted that unpopular measures will shortly be taken. "We will have to grit our teeth the whole way through. "It was this way in Turkey and South Korea. Now they have built flourishing societies," the Kazakh president said.

In conclusion he said, "I believe that we will create a multi-ethnic society, where all nations can flourish."

Presidential Inauguration Ceremony

LD1012191491

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh and Russian at 1009 GMT on 10 December carries a 57-minute relay from the extraordinary session of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet, in Alma-Ata.

The relay opens with an unidentified speaker, saying: "I declare the Supreme Soviet's celebratory session devoted to inaugurating Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev, the Republic of Kazakhstan's first nationally elected president, open." The speaker then notes that the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic has changed its name: "The Republic was today renamed at the Supreme Soviet's morning session on the Kazakh president's proposal. Henceforth, our homeland will be called the Republic of Kazakhstan." The speaker then hails Nazarbayev's election as president, adding: "Simultaneously with Nursultan Nazarbayev, the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Comrade Yerik Magzumovich Asanbayev is considered to be elected as vice president of the Republic of Kazakhstan."

At 1015 GMT, Nazarbayev takes his presidential oath in Russian: "Esteemed people of Kazakhstan: I solemnly swear to serve the peoples of our multiethnic republic loyally, (?to uphold) the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, to guarantee the rights and liberties of citizens, and to carry out conscientiously the high duties of president of the Republic of Kazakhstan entrusted to me." An anthem follows as the deputies applaud.

At 1025 GMT, an unidentified speaker reads the Supreme Soviet resolution on Nazarbayev's inauguration in Russian and Kazakh before it is passed by the deputies unanimously.

Kikilbayev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for Nationalities Policy and Development of Culture and Language, then rises to speak in both Russian and Kazakh. In Russian, he hails Nazarbayev's swearing-in; in Kazakh, he expresses how he looks forward to the coming golden age. Kikilbayev is followed by the unidentified director of a state farm, who also speaks of the importance of the occasion. Nazarbayev is then invited to speak.

At 1030 GMT, Nazarbayev begins his inauguration address, speaking in Kazakh before switching to Russian: "Dear compatriots, esteemed people's deputies, esteemed guests: Not every generation witnesses and participates in changes as majestic and as historic as those through which you and I live. It truly can be said that states appear on the world map before our eyes. Sociopolitical and economic formations and forms of state government are changing." He stresses that Kazakhstan is also affected by this, before continuing: "We see a free, sovereign, democratic Kazakh state. The Republic's citizens voted for it on 1 December through nationwide election of their president for the first time in the thousands of years of Kazakh history. Speaking of sovereignty, I do not mean in any way that Kazakhstan intends to remain in a locked system. This obviously would have a ruinous effect on the possibility of implementing political and economic independence. Fate itself has predestined the Republic to be a sort of bridge between Asia and Europe, between the great cultures of the West and East." After brief historical references, he continues: "Today, in the crisis situation for the whole of

society, on the edge of two epochs, this factor temporarily has enormous significance. The increasing tension in the Republics of the Russian Federation and the acuteness of the problems which we will be confronted with in the coming months do not allow time for vacillation; they force us to act quickly, decisively, and clearly [words indistinct] it is obvious to almost everyone that history has left us no other choice apart from cardinal changes in productive relations. However, the colossal complexity of the about-turn to a market economy is also evident to almost everyone. The measures currently being taken are clearly insufficient. Some of them are [word indistinct] others half-hearted, others come up against open, clear blockage from conservative forces, sabotage from the remnants of the old command and administrative system. We urgently need to conduct radical, interconnected measures to stabilize the socioeconomic situation, since the crisis is now approaching its critical point."

Nazarbayev continues to speak on the need to stabilize the socioeconomic situation, turning to the privatization issue: "Denationalization and privatization do not mean the total elimination of state ownership nor support for peasant farmers' full decollectivization. It may be that we retain little that is positive from yesteryear, but truly valuable experience and historic contacts must be carefully maintained. I have already spoken on more than one occasion—and I do not think it superfluous to repeat it—about the significance of the integration links that have come about and the effective economic community of the Republic with the Russian Federation and the formation of the political union. I want to say openly the prospects for signing a new union treaty and the formation of an economic community are more problematic then ever today. This is not our fault. To my deep regret, some of the leaders of a number of republics today have started to identify priority with autarchy."

Nazarbayev continues: "The statement by the leaders of Russia, the Ukraine, and Belarus and the agreement signed by them creating the Commonwealth of Independent States were extremely unexpected. The decision by the leaders of the three republics is too serious to give it an immediate categorical judgment. However, Kazakhstan must be ready for any turn of events. We are in a position to live independently. We have the necessary economic potential for that, most rich natural resources, and, most importantly, we have a qualified detachment of workers and peasants, talented scientists and engineers. We have a remarkable creative intelligentsia and young people prepared to serve the cause of the prosperity of their native republic.

"At the same time, we remain supporters of the integration processes conditioned by the objective march of history. What measures must we take first? In politics, there are steps regarding a clear division of powers, the formation of vertical presidential structures, which will allow the creation of a smooth system of government of (?capital) bodies. There is the objective transformation of the Republic's Supreme Soviet into a professional parliament, which is related to the need for a substantial reduction in the deputy corps and the inflated apparatus of local soviets. There is support for political pluralism, alongside an unconditional ban on the activity of parties and movements preaching extremism, ethnic strife, and separatism directed against the Republic's territorial integrity. There is resolute action to strengthen law and order and observance of legality. There is preservation of interethnic accord on the basis of equality of rights of all people of Kazakhstan, the priority of political stability as the fundamental principle of state policy. Without that political foundation, it is impossible to include Kazakhstan in the flow of contemporary civilization [word indistinct] profound economic transformations envisaging the freeing of prices, financial recovery, privatization, formation of a market infrastructure, with equality of all forms of ownership. It is important to get rid of any bureaucratic hindrances on the way to collective and private enterprise which should become one of the main engines of economic regeneration.

"Sovereign Kazakhstan is transforming in deeds an independent subject of international relations into an actively operating entity of the world economic space. The geographical position and social potential of the republic facilitate the orientation of Kazakhstan both to the Asia- Pacific and to the Euro-Atlantic regions. We must form an open market, make foreign investment an important factor in cardinal structural changes in the national economy, increase by all means the gold reserve and the foreign currency fund. In this regard, I want to talk of our intention to allow the participation of foreign capital in the processes of denationalization and privatization of state property and the creation of concessions. Despite the restricted nature of finance and material potential, we will conduct a clear course of giving support to the socially unprotected among our people—pensioners, invalids, orphans, large families, and schoolchildren. I consider it vitally important in developing the economy to have a caring attitude to the natural resources of Kazakhstan and to implement ecological programs in the interests of the present and future generations."

At 1050 GMT, Nazarbayev stresses the importance of transitioning to a market economy. He says: "It must be recognized that we have an historic opportunity of which we must not let go. I mean that the Kazakh nation, having absorbed the traditions and wisdom of preceding generations; having pooled their remaining creative energy; having built a huge experience of internationalism, national, and civic accord, can and must take on a great mission, play the role of guarantor of stability and calm in their region, and make a worthy entry into the world community.

"A difficult vote was held at the polling stations on 1 December. It inaugurated the formation of a new fraternal community of Kazakhs, Russians, Ukrainians, Koreans, Germans, Uyghurs, and all those who have decided as a single team to pave the way through a dramatic present to a healthy future for our republic.

Dear fellow citizens: I am fully aware of the great trust and the immense honor which you have extended to me in the first nationwide Kazakh presidential elections. From deep in my heart, I would like to thank the voters who represent various national and social sectors, public movments and parties, religious communities, all those who supported me and the program I put forward. A mandate of nationwide trust is not only a right to act but also immense responsibility on the part of the president to the whole people. I hope for your support [word indistinct] the Republic's new Vice President Yerik Asanbayev, people's deputies, I promise to do everything possible to justify your aspirations and hopes."

At 1057 GMT, Nazarbayev concludes by saying: "I believe we can create on Kazakh territory a highly developed political civilization in which the Kazakh nation will be reborn and in which all nations and ethnic groups belonging to it will feel free. Thank you for your attention."

At 1106 GMT, after comments by several unidentified deputies, the relay ends.

Gorbachev Greets Nazarbayev on Election

LD1012214691 Moscow TASS in English 2037 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow December 10 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev today sent a telegram of greetings to Kazakhstan leader Nursulatan Nazarbayev on the occasion of his inauguration as president of sovereign Kazakhstan.

Nazarbayev had won the presidential elections earlier this month.

Gorbachev wished Nazarbayev success in his efforts to stabilize the political situation, implement far-reaching reforms and develop comprehensive relations with other states of the Union.

Defense Official Favors Single Command

LD1112144991 Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 11 Dec 91

[By KAZTAG correspondent Yerlan Aktayev]

[Text] Alma-Ata December 11 TASS—"Kazakhstan does not need a nuclear button," says Lieutenant-General Sagadat Nurmagambetov, chairman of the State Defense Committee of Kazakhstan.

In today's interview to the newspaper KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, he claims that Kazakhstan supports a single military-strategic space. Therefore strategic troops must be under a single collective command, with a single defense ministry and general staff.

The State Defense Committee will only occasionally monitor what is taking place in Army units located on the territory of the republic.

"At the same time Kazakhstan is against moving nuclear weapons," Nurmagambetov said. "If we continue to live in a single military- strategic space, let everything remain as it is. Our republic will do everything to become a nuclear-free state, but it can attain that goal only through a negotiations involving all countries with nuclear capability."

Supreme Soviet To Discuss Independence Issue

OW1112032791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2102 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On the deputies' insistence, the Supreme Council of Kazakhstan which gathered on December 10 will discuss the proclamation of the republic's independence, the current privatization drive in Kazakhstan and environmental protection measures.

Besides that, the parliament will discuss the draft laws on state development, economic reforms, social development and law enforcement, and also various aspects of the foreign policy and foreign trade.

Rejects Gorbachev Statement

LD1012200791 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Dec 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Kazakh parliament session is conducting special parliamentary hearings on the statement of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev on the transfer to Kazakhstan of five oblasts of Russia during the opening of the virgin lands. The USSR president spoke about this during a recent television interview. The majority of deputies of the republic's parliament appraised Gorbachev's statement as a falsification of history. The session decided to further examine the territorial question.

Kyrgyzstan

Adviser Says Akayev To Support Minsk Agreement

OW1112051491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1725 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President of Kyrgyzstan, Mr. Askar Akayev, is likely to express his attitude to the agreement signed in Minsk by the leaders of Belarus, Russia and the Ukraine, at the session of the republic's parliament on Wednesday, Mr. Askar Saryguiev, the Kyrgyzstan President's adviser, told IF [INTERFAX].

Mr. Sarygulov said that on the whole the Kyrgyzstan president supported the Minsk agreement. "Since the Centre does not want to accept the principles that would suit all of the sovereign republics which have appeared in

the territory of the former Union, the meeting between the leaders of the three Slavic states seems a natural thing," he said. It was vital for avoiding the rupture of relations based on a deep historical affinity, he said.

The only thing Kyrgyzstan can do is to back the Slavic states' desire to build a new community, given the increasing Islamic tendencies in the region, he said.

Independence Declaration Adopted as Law

OW1112122491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1129 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday, President of Kyrgyzstan, Askar Akayev, is assuming his presidential duties in Bishkek. In the morning the Supreme Council of Kyrgyzstan adopted a law which gives the declaration of state independence the status of a law. This document is needed for swearing the president in. Following Mr. Akayev's inauguration, the parliament will start discussing the agenda.

As to the Belorussian agreement, there are plans to set up a special commission that will study the question and submit it to parliament for discussion.

Turkmenia

Council To Study Commonwealth Accord 'Carefully'

OW1112005991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 10 Dec 91

[From "Bulletin 2"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Turkmenistan's Presidential Council met in Ashkhabad Monday to discuss the package of documents signed in Minsk, and decided to "carefully study" the Slav republics' agreement on the formation of a commonwealth.

As IF's [INTERFAX] reporter has learnt from the Turkmenian president's press service, Saparmurad Niyazov had had a telephone conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev before the Presidential Council's meeting. According to some sources, he had also talked on the phone with the Kazakh leader Nursultan Nazarbayev.

Statement Postponed

LD1012212991 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2001 GMT 10 Dec 91

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] According to some information sources, Turkmenistan will not enter the community of independent states, one of the members of the Turkmenistan's Presidential Council told PF [POSTFACTUM]. The leaders of Turkmenistan have decided to choose a model of bilateral ties and agreements with members of the community of independent states. Speaking on the session, Saparmurat Niyazov, president of Turkmenistan, underlined that he stands firmly on the same position in what is related to the conclusion of a treaty on friendship and cooperation with Russia, which must be realized only on the principles of treating Turkmenistan's sovereignty with respect. The members of the Presidential Council agreed on refraining from any official declarations on the position of Turkmenistan to the creation of the community, at least until the end of this week. According to some local analysts, the Turkmenian leadership is going to wait for the fate of the president of the former USSR becoming clearer and for the positions of the former Union republics to be announced.

Niyazov Comments

LD1112173291 Moscow TASS in English 1541 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Text] Ashkhabad December 11 TASS—Turkmenia will voice its opinion on the new commonwealth only after the republican government and the parliament have had a chance to discuss it in full, Turkmenian President Saparmurad Niyazov told TASS today.

The president told his council on Tuesday the republic will stick to its commitment to sign an agreement on friendship and cooperation with Russia. All agreements with the largest former Soviet republic should be based on respect of mutual sovereignty, the president stressed.

Argentine Firm Wins First Round Oil Tender

OW1112072391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1958 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Argentinian company Bridas SAPIC has won the first round in the competition for the right to investigate and exploit deposits of oil, gas and associated gas in Turkmenistan. Bridas SAPIC received a parcel of territory encompassing 10,300 square kilometers. Altogether, four parcels totalling 64,000 square kilometers will be distributed through the tender.

Potential oil and gas deposits in Turkmenistan have been poorly explored. However, Turkmen experts suggest that Turkmenistan's earth may harbor deposits rich with up to 10 trillion cubic meters of gas and 20 bn [billion] barrels of oil and associated gas. American experts' preliminary estimates exceed these figures.

As a winner in the first stage of the competition, Bridas SAPIC will sign a contract with the state concern "Turkmengeologia" to establish a joint venture which will carry out geological research and exploit deposits The contract will probably be signed in the next two to three weeks. Preliminary statistics suggest that Bridas SAPIC intends to invest about $100 mn [million] in exploring Turkmenistan's deposits and an additional $100 mn in exploiting them.

Uzbekistan

President Reserves Comment on Minsk Agreement

LD1012164291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1546 GMT 10 Dec 91

[By UZTAG correspondent Vyacheslav Drachev]

[Text] Tashkent, 10 Dec (TASS)—The Minsk agreement by the leaders of the three Slavic republics raises a number of questions that have to be answered before an opinion of the document can be formed. This was said today by Islam Karimov, president of Uzbekistan, in an interview with the UZTAG news agency. According to him, conclusions cannot be drawn until first-hand information has been received.

Union Treaty 'Stillborn'

OW1112053391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1725 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Uzbekistan's president Mr. Islam Karimov believes that the agreement signed by Belarus, Russia and the Ukraine are "revolutionary by nature". Mr. Karimov highly estimated the fact that the new Union had been initiated by the three republics which shaped the USSR in 1922. At the same time he did not welcome the fact that the agreement was interpreted as an assembly of the three Slavic republics. "It would be more correct from the ethnic, moral and political point of view to refer to its members as the founders of the Union," he said.

Moreover, it would be excellent, said Mr. Karimov, if the leaders of Belarus, Russia and the Ukraine declared that they were building a new Union and that all other republics should hurry up and decide whether or not to join it.

Mr. Karimov noted that the draft Union treaty was stillborn, given the newly-signed agreement on the Community of Independent States.

Cotton for Grain Deal With U.S. Company

OW1112044791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2102 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday, President of Uzbekistan, Mr. Islam Karimov, received president of the American corporation Continental Grain Mr. Donald Staheli. After the talks Mr. Karimov told journalists that the Continental Grain would help Uzbekistan set up joint ventures for processing agricultural produce, and present its output to the world market.

Earlier, a protocol on allotting 100,000 tonnes of cotton to this corporation for trade deals on the world market had been signed. Next year, the government of Uzbekistan will supply this corporation with 200,000 tons and in 1993 - with 300,000 tonnes of raw cotton.

In its turn, the corporation will supply Uzbekistan with large lots of grain, organize the production of broilers in that republic, send in cotton-cleaning equipment and a line for processing fruit and vegetables, and launch the production of jeans and children's sportswear.